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THE TRANSPORTATION COLLECTION

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The founders of the New Jersey Historical Society, meeting in Trenton on January 13, 1845, would not have been expected to think of a transportation collection as part of their new organization's functions. At that time, inland transportation in America was still a matter of rutted roads, river and canal boats, and a few thousand miles of iron rail—about 200 miles of which were in New Jersey. Transportation had not yet united the nation, and probably was thought of chiefly in connection with the difficulties and discomforts involved in the workaday business of getting from place to place.

Today, 105 years later, we see this period and the events which followed, in the perspective of history. The tale of American transportation becomes one of the most romantic chapters in the development of our country. The stories of its railroads, waterways, highways, and airlanes, and their builders and operators, are now recognized as being worthy of preservation and retelling. Of particular interest to present and future generations is the story of the pioneer stages of our varied methods of transportation.

The Transportation Collection at the Historical Society's headquarters hopes to help in the accomplishment of this task in the port of New York area. In only a few major cities are there any significant collections of historical transportation material. In Boston, there is housed at the Baker Library of

the Harvard Business School, a splendid collection of rare items of railroad memorabilia. The Franklin Institute in Philadelphia quite properly has a number of railroad items on permanent display. Of these, the most spectacular is the huge Baldwin Locomotive Works locomotive No. 60000, which actually moves (by electric power) for the edification of interested visitors.

Among the priceless exhibits of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington will be found a few railroad items.

A number of railroads in the Chicago area have recognized the value of the offer of the Newberry Library to house, preserve, and make available to accredited students, old railroad corporate records, files, and documents of historical interest, and have made this Library the repository of their historical records.

Two museums in New York have material on shipping and the early days of transportation in that city. There is, however, no integrated transportation exhibit in the greater metropolitan area, nor any display giving full credit to the railroads, which probably played the greatest part of any single means of commerce in this country's growth.

It is particularly fitting that a transportation collection and display in Newark should emphasize the steel rail and flanged wheel. Railroads have played a vital part in the development of New Jersey. The story begins with the completion in 1831 of the British-built "John Bull" locomotive of the Camden & Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company, which slowly plodded from South Amboy to Bordentown on the Delaware River, and subsequently down that river to Camden. Since that time New Jersey has been gridironed with a network of railway trackage until its track mileage per acre of land is now greater than that of any other state in the Union. Taxpayers are keenly interested in the fact that the heavy taxes paid by its railroads to the Garden State have greatly helped to reduce the burden of state taxes.

Transportation has helped New Jersey to grow, and also

has developed its sister states to the west and south. It has played an especially important role because all commerce from New York which is destined to the south, and much of the traffic having western destinations, must of necessity cross New Jersey. The expansion of transportation facilities, which began early in the nineteenth century, greatly accelerated New Jersey's growth as a state, and the history of its turnpikes, canals, and railroads is closely connected with the economic and political developments within the state.

From the chartering of the Morris Turnpike on March 9, 1801, and the Union Turnpike in 1804, New Jersey has steadily improved its means of internal communications. The increasing importance of New York as a commercial center provided one of the chief motivations for the development of adequate highways. It is interesting to note that New Jersey is again turning, after a lapse of more than a century, to the principle of turnpikes, to ease the problems created by a rapidly increasing metropolitan area.

The construction of canals, which supplemented the developing road system, provided further evidence of the need for better transportation facilities. The canals in turn were soon supplemented, and then overshadowed, by the development of railroads but each form of transportation was a response to the growing population, the increase of manufactures and the desire for more adequate communications.

Among the important canals was the Morris Canal, chartered in 1824 and completed to Newark by 1831. It was finally extended from Phillipsburg on the Delaware to Jersey City, opposite New York. Another important route was the Delaware & Raritan Canal, which was completed in 1833. As its name implies, this canal operated between the Delaware River near Trenton, and New Brunswick on the Raritan.

The railroads did not lag far behind the canals, and during the 1830's much construction was begun in the state. The competition which arose between canals and railroads was gradually resolved in favor of the railroads. By far the most

important of these early railroads was the Camden and Amboy. Thanks to the pioneer efforts of John and Robert L. Stevens, a charter was obtained from the New Jersey legislature in 1824, and by 1833 part of the new line was in operation. In 1832 the New Jersey Railroad was chartered, and within a few years it was able to provide connections between Jersey City and New Brunswick.

Your Society's president, Mr. Charles B. Bradley, had long pondered ways and means whereby the Society might extend its sphere of usefulness, and fill some need for the preservation of historical material, in order that future generations may become more familiar with the things that have made New Jersey a great state. Having a keen interest in railroad history, and a railroad background as well, Mr. Bradley had often deplored the destruction of old railroad records, data and other memorabilia, but he had the helpless feeling that he was almost alone in his belief that the history of transportation constitutes an important part of the history of New Jersey, and consequently should be preserved. It was with deep gratification, therefore, that he learned, through a chance conversation, that there are many residents of the Garden State, and in the Greater New York area, whose views coincided with his own. He was also surprised to discover that within two miles of his home a member of your Society had accumulated over a period of thirty years a great and valuable collection of railroad memorabilia, which he was prepared to donate, for the benefit of posterity, to a transportation museum in the Greater New York area. Out of this combination of fortuitous circumstances, there were gradually crystalized the plans for a Transportation Museum and Collection under the auspices of the New Jersey Historical Society.

The officers of your society realized that its present staff could not attempt to cope with the many varied and technical problems which would be encountered in the establishment and subsequent administration of a transportation collection. In addition to the fact that they are already overburdened

with detail work, the present staff do not possess the necessary specialized training in the transportation field to enable them to do justice to the potentialities and possibilities of the new venture. Fortunately, members of the "Railroadians of America," which is a non-profit association of men whose avocation is the study of railroading in all of its branches, volunteered their services to assist in the administration of the transportation collection. A number of these men are now members of the New Jersey Historical Society, and all are thoroughly qualified for this work. This was another fortunate circumstance, as it relieves the present staff of a responsibility which they are not equipped to handle, and brings to your Society additional competent workers who have an established reputation for accomplishing results.

President Bradley lost no time in appointing a Transportation Committee, made up of Thomas T. Taber, Chairman, Charles B. Bradley, Donald B. Kipp, Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, Jr. and Charles Osgood. This group was directed to take whatever steps might be necessary to further the new venture which, in time, may become one of the most important activities of your Society.

The South Gallery on the third floor of your Society's building was assigned for the initial exhibition of transportation items, with the thought that as this collection proved its value and popularity, and as it increased in size, it might expand into the East Gallery on that floor. The formal opening of the museum exhibition was set for Wednesday, October 25th, to coincide with the annual meeting of the Society scheduled for that day.

It was decided that for the initial exhibition, as well as for subsequent special displays, items would be accepted on loan for that specific purpose, but that in the main, every effort would be directed towards building up a collection of donated, permanent gift items. It is hoped also that special displays and general exhibitions will be arranged from time to time in collaboration with interested corporations, organizations,

and the like. These activities should insure a continuing interest on the part of the members and the general public as well.

A tremendous amount of work had to be done before plans for the initial exhibition became a reality. Material had to be collected, catalogued, prepared, and placed. Exhibition stands and cases had to be constructed, rebuilt, and painted. Since it was desired to have as many members as possible have a part in this constructive venture, letters were written to members, who were invited to contribute old transportation items. Several members generously responded with offers of material —all of which were gratefully accepted.

The members of the "Railroadians of America" undertook the herculean task of constructing eight exhibition stands, and the rebuilding and repainting of a number of old surplus glass show cases. All cases, stands, and the bases of the large pieces were painted a soft, unobtrusive shade of gray, to insure uniformity of color scheme and a dignified, pleasing appearance. The finished results exceeded anticipations, and are indeed a credit to those who so unselfishly achieved them.

The first, and undoubtedly the most valuable donation thus far received, was a series of gifts from Mr. Thomas T. Taber, a member of your Society, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Railroadians of America." This donation compromised over sixty items, representing two truckloads of historical railroad museum material appraised at several thousand dollars. Included in the lot were a number of rare items, which cannot be duplicated today. One of these is the bell and stand from the locomotive "Patrick" of the Boston & Lowell Railroad, which was built by the Locks & Canal Company in 1835. A large square oil headlight, of the 1870's, flanked by a pair of highly polished brass flagstaffs, is another unusual and eye-catching piece of railroad memorabilia. From the long-gone, but not forgotten, Sandy River & Rangely Lakes two-foot-gauge railroad of Maine is a large red and green signal light of eighty years ago. Originally illuminated by an oil lantern, this was wired by Mr. Taber for electricity, so

that visitors can enjoy the beautiful red and green light that shines from it when illuminated. A set of colorful annual passes of the 1870's from New Jersey railroads, neatly framed, is matched by a companion piece of twenty-five unusual old annual passes of the same period from steamboat lines—practically all of which will be remembered by oldtimers, but which are unknown today. Red and clear glass trainmen's lanterns of seventy and more years ago, when sperm oil was burned in them, make a sharp contrast with the battery flashlights of the twentieth century.

Beautifully painted and polished locomotive appliances, with parts cut away to show the internal workings, indicate that Mr. Taber spent many, many hours cleaning, polishing and painting these items so that visitors could visualize how such important things as couplers, locomotive injectors, lubricators, safety valves and the like, actually do their important work. An electric, motor-driven dwarf yard signal, which operates when a button is touched, shows what an automatic electric signal of thirty years ago was like—before the era of color and position light signals. The light signals are more efficient and cost less to operate and maintain, but are not as colorful and dynamic as the semaphore type which they supplanted. A number of large framed lithographs of locomotives, some colored—and they are the original colors of 1852—and some black and white, show specimens of the locomotive builders' art of that period. These beautifully executed lithographs are today a rarity, and constitute a most valuable acquisition to the transportation collection. Mr. Taber states that it is his intention to make additional contributions of railroadiana, from time to time, to this collection.

Mr. Walter A. Lucas, also a member of your Society, and a Director of the Railroadians of America, has also been a generous contributor. His initial gift comprises almost sixty items of various kinds—all of which are welcome additions to the collection. A most rare item is a folio of sixty-seven original tracings mapping the entire line of the New Jersey

Railroad & Transportation Company, from Jersey City to New Brunswick, almost one hundred years old. Carefully mounted and displayed specimens of strap rail (period of 1835) and "U" rail, together with specimens of more modern rail, point up the advances made during the past century. Photographs, and a telegraph key and sounder offer variety and help round out the exhibition.

The Central Railroad of New Jersey donations of last year—the bell, flags, and nameboard from the ferryboat "Bayonne"—have been transferred from the Society's general collection to the transportation display. A survey is being made of other transportation items now owned by the Society, such as an ancient board sign showing the rates of toll on an early toll-road; money issued by the Morris Canal and Banking Company, photographs, reports, advertisements, etc., and as rapidly as possible they will be added to the transportation collection.

In addition to spending many hours preparing his own material for donation to the Society, working on the construction of exhibition stands, etc., at the Society's building, Mr. Taber has found time from his arduous duties and responsibilities as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Madison Borough Council (not to mention his gainful occupation) to design and install the accounting system for the identification and cataloging of all items consigned to the transportation collection. It is of the utmost importance that the "paper work" in connection with this collection be well done, and kept up to date, especially for temporary loan items. Consequently, the Society is fortunate in having a simple, effective system provided at the inception of this activity.

Special mention should be made of the following members of the "Railroadians of America" who have spent countless hours of hard work in connection with the Transportation Collection: Milton Bernstein, Niles Bergenholtz, Robert Kip, George Hobart, Harold Lessersohn, F. T. Richardson and Halsey L. Tilton. Had it not been for their indefatigable efforts and enthusiasm, coupled with determination and stick-to-itive-

ness, the objectives could not have been achieved by the deadlines set.

Members of the "Railroadians of America" who are also members of your Society, have volunteered their services as a permanent working committee to perform all of the work in connection with the Transportation Collection, including the exacting, but vital, paper work connected with the accounting for each item received. Two or more of these men will be on duty every Saturday, all day, to do the necessary work, meet the public, answer questions, and be generally helpful in every way possible. This extremely unselfish offer is much appreciated by your Society.

Another important activity of the Transportation Committee will be the collection and preservation of books, records, photographs, documents, and the like. These will include old corporate records and interesting material from transportation companies operating in New Jersey—either past or present. Such material will be catalogued, and stored in the Society's fireproof vaults and library stacks, and thus be made available to accredited students or other responsible interested persons for generations to come.

It is planned that the collection will be augmented as rapidly as possible with material of all kinds—whether three-dimensional, flat or documentary, and thus in the near future, this may become the most valuable collection of its kind in the Greater New York area. At that time your Society will become the focal point, in this part of the country, for historical research relating to railroads and other forms of transportation.

It is hoped that the Transportation Exhibit will help its visitors realize what the wheel, the hull, and the wing meant to their forefathers, and continue to mean to present and future generations. It is also the intention of the Board of Trustees, in establishing this Exhibit, that the facilities of the New Jersey Historical Society will become of increasing value and interest to the residents of this State, and of the metropolitan area generally, and that the attendance in its galleries especially among the younger generations, will be increased many-fold.

"FROM THE HILLS TO THE HUDSON"

By The Editor

In its plans for setting up the the Transportation Collection permanently, as described elsewhere in this issue of the "Proceedings," the New Jersey Historical Society has had the enthusiastic support of The Railroadians of America. This organization is made up of persons with a common interest in railroading, particularly from the historical standpoint and the gathering of records and data related to the subject. In 1944 The Railroadians published "From The Hills To The Hudson", an account of the establishment and early operation of two New Jersey railroads which became part of the Erie system. The author, Walter Arndt Lucas, is the chairman of the publication committee of the Railroadians and author of "The History of the New York, Susquehanna, and Western Railroad."

This book, "From The Hills To The Hudson", regularly sells at $4.00. The Railroadians have generously offered to make it available to members of the New Jersey Historical Society for $3.00, and further to let the Society retain half of this amount, $1.50 on each volume sold, to help with any expenses in setting up the Transportation Collection. The book is a distinctly New Jersey item which will be of interest to the members of the Society and an addition to their library. It is available now by order to the Society.

The story covers with a wealth of detail the bit of local history, twenty years in length, when two railroads, the Paterson and Hudson River, and the Paterson and Ramapo, were sponsored and built by the inhabitants of Paterson and vicinity, operated as independent roads, and finally leased by the New York and Erie Rail Road Company, whose successor, the Erie Railroad Company, still operates them as a part of the main line of that system between New York and Chicago, the oldest operated piece of road within the Erie system. It is part

of the history of Paterson and of the Erie Railroad, a story of vision and venture, of competition and politics, of final success.

From Alexander Hamilton's setting up in 1791 of the "Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures," the "S.U.M.", to take advantage of the power of the Great Falls of the Passaic, the city of Paterson came into being. In its early development it soon became evident that some thing would be needed to offset the competition of the Morris Canal under the energetic leadership of Cadwallader Colden. Steam railroading was in its infancy in England, when in 1828 a group of local citizens conceived the idea of a railroad that would not only parallel the Morris Canal to the Delaware, but actually go on to Pittston on the Susquehanna and bring Susquehanna coal to Paterson and on to New York, via a railroad to Jersey City. A survey was ordered and, based on it, in January, 1829, a petition was presented to the legislature for the first unit, a railroad from Paterson to Jersey City. There were remonstrances and counter arguments. Twice the petition was defeated. Two years passed before favorable legislative action was had in January, 1831. The company was organized immediately, the Paterson and Hudson River Rail Road, with Philemon Dickerson (1788-1862) as president and Elias Boudinot Dayton Ogden (1800-1865) as secretary. The stock was oversubscribed five times. Construction began and on May 29, 1832, some fifteen months later, the first section of four and a half miles to Acquackanonk Landing (Passaic) was opened for traffic. Each car carried thirty or forty passengers, was drawn by one horse, and made a mile in three minutes "with the most perfect ease." The whole four and a half mile trip was made in eighteen minutes, "drawn by fleet and gentle horses." according to the road's first advertisement. On November 29, 1833, the road to Jersey City was opened to the public.

In April, 1835, came steam with the arrival of the locomotive, "McNeill," named in honor of the chief engineer of the

road[1] and built by Robert Stephenson and Company in Newcastle, England. Steam engines were new and passengers were cautious, so "the steam and horse cars are so intermixed that passengers may make their selection, and the timid can avail themselves of the latter twice a day each way."

In 1840 the success of the Paterson and Hudson River Rail Road seemed assured and the company planned an extension. In that year it petitioned the legislature to build the Paterson and Ramapo Railroad through Passaic and Bergen counties to the New York state line at Ramapo, fourteen miles from Paterson, which petition was approved in March, 1841. Thus, planned the petitioners, a junction would be made with the New York and Erie Rail Road at Suffern's by which the latter road would have a terminus at tidewater in New Jersey instead of its terminal further up the Hudson at Piermont. The road was to be constructed for $200,000. and, in order to save on the purchase of right of way, it would enter the heart of Paterson and use its streets. By 1848, the venture had been completed and again on October 18 of that year was held one of those "opening banquets" with which the whole account is replete, menu, toasts, and all.

By January, 1851, there were rumors that the Erie wanted to take over both Jersey roads. A new company, the Union Rail Road Company, had been set up to take over the section of the Paterson and Ramapo that lay in New York state, from Ramapo to Suffern's where it joined the Erie. On February 10, 1851, an arrangement was announced for transporting Erie passengers to Jersey City. The Erie trains could not be run over the Jersey roads because of a difference in gauge,

[1]Captain William Gibbs McNeill (1801-1853), a West Point graduate of 1817 and one of the best known civil engineers in the country, was engaged as Chief Engineer with Lieutenant George Washington Whistler (1800-1849), West Point 1819, as his assistant. Whistler married McNeill's sister and their son was the famous American artist, James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903). When steam came to the railroad in 1835, the first engines purchased by the road were called the "McNeill" and the "Whistler".

the Erie being six feet, the others four and a half. But the passengers transferred from one train to the other at Suffern's. Thus the Erie terminal at Piermont was virtually abandoned and instead of "From the Hills to the Hudson", the two Jersey roads became the eastern end of a new "lakes to sea" road, from Dunkirk on Lake Erie to tidewater at New York City. On August 18, 1852, the *Newark Daily Advertiser* announced completed arrangements whereby the Erie was to take over the two Jersey roads. The Jersey tracks were to be made uniform with the Erie tracks at the Erie's expense. The formal steps were taken in September, 1852, by which the Paterson and Hudson River, the Paterson and Ramapo, and the Union Rail Road were leased to the Erie. Corporate entities were preserved, but in effect the first New Jersey railroad had become a part of the Erie system. With the lease, along with other equipment and rolling stock, went two 8-wheeled passenger cars seating sixty people, three 8-wheeled cars seating fifty-six, and four locomotives, the "McNeill", valued at $900., the "Whistler", $1200., the "Paterson", $3,000., and the "Passaic", $3,500. The days of a mile in three minutes with fleet and gentle horses were gone.

The narrator's generous use of contemporaneous accounts and illustrations adds greatly to the story. The unavailability of early corporate records through fires and lack of care may, as the author says, be of disadvantage statistically. But it is a blessing in disguise in bringing in the highly colored accounts of the daily press of the time. Banquets celebrating completions and openings abound in interesting details, even to verbatim reports of the endless toasts, both "standing" and "volunteer". Accidents are related with every colorful detail. Departure of troops in the Civil War are given in vivid pictures. The opening of the new Paterson station in 1861 is described and the razing of the old station by hitching the old locomotive to it, which "fetched the old rat hole in just half a minute." The book contains a wealth of illustrations to please any taste—old prints and daguerrotypes, street scenes in Paterson and Jersey City,

drawings of early engines and ferry boats, old time tables, tickets, passes, announcements, Fourth of July excursions from New York with "time to see the Great Falls and return by the last train."

Both the student, looking for historical fact in connection with this important segment of the Erie system, and the leisurely reader, browsing in local history of a by-gone age, will find the book of interest.

MAHLON DICKERSON: A GREAT BUT ALMOST FORGOTTEN JERSEYAN

By William J. Dunham

Editor's Note: The author, a native of Perth Amboy, was graduated from Notre Dame in 1941 and served in the armed forces for four years, until 1945. He has been with Seton Hall University since then and is now setting up a course in New Jersey history which he expects to teach in the academic year 1951-52. He tok his M.A. in 1950 at New York University in history and government and is now working on his doctorate at the same university. This article presents two chapters of his M.A. thesis. At present he is assistant professor of Political Science at Seton Hall University.

Chapter I
EARLY LIFE

Mahlon Dickerson was born on April 17, 1770, at Hanover Neck, Morris County, New Jersey. He was a descendant of Philemon Dickerson, a Puritan emigrant from England, who settled at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1638. In 1672 Philemon Dickerson left Salem and went to Southold, Long Island, from whence his grandchildren moved to New Jersey in about 1745. Jonathan Dickerson, the father of Mahlon, was one of these grandchildren.[1]

[1]The most complete and helpful biography of Mahlon Dickerson is found in Josiah C. Pumpelly, "Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey. Industrial Pioneer and Old Time Patriot," New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), V, 289-90.; Edmund D. Halsey, *History of Morris County, New Jersey* 1739-1882 (New York, 1882) pp. 321-24.; W. H. Carpenter and T. S. Arthur, eds., *The History of New Jersey from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 224-29.; Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey with Biographical Sketches of the Governors from* 1776 *to* 1845 (Newark, N. J., 1872), pp. 168-73,; Edward Q. Keasbey,*The Courts and Lawyers of New Jersey* (New York, 1912), II, 658-59.; William H. Shaw, ed., *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 245,251; William Nelson, ed., *Nelson's Biographical Cyclopedia of New Jersey* (New York, 1913),I, 13-14.; *A History of Morris County, New Jersey* (New York, 1914), I, 56-58.; *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 28-29.; *Cyclopedia of New Jersey Biography* (New York, 1923), pp. 54-56.; Francis B. Lee, ed., *Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey* (New York, 1910), III, 1074.

Very little is known of Mahlon Dickerson's childhood and early manhood, except for the fact that he prepared for college at the Morristown Classical School.

Dickerson entered Princeton, then known as the College of New Jersey, in 1787 where he joined the Whig society in the same year.[2] During the American Revolution Princeton had been a hot-bed of sedition,[3] and its president, Dr. John Witherspoon, who was one of the most ardent patriots fighting for popular rights over and against the aristocratic class, still retained that position when Dickerson was a student.[4] The influence of Dr. Witherspoon is probably one factor which steered Dickerson towards the party of Thomas Jefferson when it emerged as the champion of the "producing masses."[5] He graduated with his Bachelor of Arts degree on September 30. 1789, and returned to Morristown where he took up the study of law under one Mr. Russell in October, 1789.[6]

In 1791 young Dickerson went to Philadelphia on business. He was so favorably impressed by the community that he resolved to make it his future home.[7]

[2]At this time the college was divided into different Halls with the Whig society residing in one Hall and the Clios society in the other. The Halls allowed the students a medium for free expression to those inclined towards literary work. A bitter rivalry existed between the two.

"The political and forensic influence of the Halls is easier to indicate than their literary influence. . . During the Revolution, well at the front if not at the very head of the political satirists stood for example, Philip Freneau, whose pen had been sharpened in Whig Hall by 'paper contentions.'" See Varnum L. Collins, *Princeton* (New York, 1914), pp. 180-84.

[3]Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton* (New York, 1925), p. 157.

[4]Collins, p. 72.

[5]Dr. Witherspoon is considered to be one of the great leaders of the American Revolution. He was a member of the Continental Congress from June 1776 until November 1782. During this time he served on many committees and on two standing committees—the board of war and the committee on foreign affairs. He played a conspicious part in the debates on the Articles of Confederation; aided in setting up the executive departments; and was instrumental in formulating the instructions of the American peace commissioners. See Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *op. cit.*, XX, 435-38.

[6]Entry of Oct. 5, 1789, Diary of Mahlon Dickerson, MSS. New Jersey Historical Society.

[7]*Ibid.*, July 15, 1791.

During September of 1793 Dickerson secured his license as attorney at law in Trenton, but was not sworn into office because of the yellow fever epidemic which was raging in Philadelphia.[8] The epidemic had so frightened the members of the Supreme Court at Trenton that they had adjourned without attending to any business at hand. It was not until the fever subsided two months later, on November 5, 1793, that Dickerson was finally sworn in.[9]

The Whiskey Rebellion which erupted in western Pennsylvania in 1794 claimed most of Dickerson's time during that year. The trouble came about as a result of the federal Excise Law of 1791 which had been severely opposed by Thomas Jefferson, the then Secretary of State. The law was recommended in a report to Congress on December 13, 1790, by Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, as a means of increasing the federal revenues by placing an elaborate system of excise duties on wine and whiskey. Money was extremely rare in the interior of the United States during this period. The Westerners, having no market for their grain, converted it into alcohol and used this as their medium of barter.[10] The prosperity of the farmers was therefore threatened with ruinous taxation. To prevent the federal tax collectors from performing their duty, the farmers banded together and used such means as tarring and feathering in order to accomplish their object. Ultimately the states of New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were ordered by President Washington's proclamation[11] to put down the so-called "Whiskey Boys."[12] The response of the aforementioned states to the federal order was truly gratifying as their troops began to

[8]For a full treatment of this topic see John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1936), II, 126. See also John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia, 1949), 304 p.

[9]Dickerson's Diary, Nov. 6, 1793.

[10]Claude G. Bowers, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-56.

[11]Congress, by law, had authorized the President to call out the state militia "to execute the laws of the Union."

[12]John B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, II,197.

march on the insurrectionists. Dickerson was called into the New Jersey volunteers under Captain Kinney to perform his duty. His Diary relates very little about troop movements of tactics employed and is concerned for the most part with an excellent account of the weather and the scenery. However, it does inform the reader that Dickerson received severe hand burns when his tent caught fire and he attempted to extinguish the blaze.[13]

The Rebellion ended in that year, but not until it had uncovered, on the side of the rebels, a leader who was destined for greater things, the Swiss born immigrant Albert Gallatin;[14] and not until a valuable lesson on the meaning of federalism had been taught to this young nation. John B. McMaster sums it up thusly:

> For the first time in the history of the Federal Government its authority had been defied and its officers forcibly withstood. The question had then been raised, What would the people do? Would the citizens of one State invade the soil of another State and, with arms in their hands, reduce rebellious citizens to obedience to Federal law? Or would they declare each State a soverign and leave the general Government to arrange such troubles as best it could? The response to the President's call for troops had forever put such questions at rest.[15]

The authority of the federal government had been made known. The taxes were paid by the farmers, but they immediately began to organize "democratic societies," as advocated by Thomas Jefferson.[16] It should be noted, however, that these

[13]Dickerson's Diary, Sept. 2, 1794.

[14]Gallatin became the Secretary of the Treasury under President Thomas Jefferson and is considered by many to be second only to Alexander Hamilton for financial wizardry.

[15]John B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, II, 203.

[16]*Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

"democratic societies" did not suggest forcible resistance to the law of the land, but rather a reformation of the government by constitutional means. Benjamin F. Bache, editor of the democratic *Philadelphia Daily Advertiser,* states the typical stand of the democratic press in regard to this issue:

> The question is not whether the excise is a proper or improper mode of collecting revenue. It is constitutional . . . and it becomes the duty of every citizen to give his aid, if called upon, to enforce its execution. If the opposers should triumph . . . the axe is laid to the root of all national government.[17]

During 1795 and 1796 Dickerson maintained quite an active law practice in Morris county. He also found, during these years, adequate time to catch up on his reading of which he was very fond. His Diary makes note of the fact that of his extensive readings he thought Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* to be the "best book in the English language (Bible excepted)."[18]

Dickerson finally fulfilled his ambition of some years in 1797 when he moved to Philadelphia. After studying law for a time in the office of James Milnor, who later became conspicuous as a member of Congress and a clergyman of the Episcopal church in New York, Dickerson, in June of the same year, was admitted as an Attorney at Law for Philadelphia County and on July 1, opened his law office in the city of Philadelphia.[19] He also did some writing while a resident of the city and contributed articles to the *Aurora* newspaper.[20] The editor of the *Aurora* was the famous William Duane, who had taken it over in 1798 upon the death of Benjamin F. Bache. Duane was one of the most rabid Republicans of his time and very

[17]*Philadelphia Daily Advertiser,* September 10, 1794.
[18]Dickerson's Diary, May 15, 1795.
[19]*Cyclopedia of New Jersey Biography* (New York, 1923), p. 54.
[20]It is known that Dickerson did write for the *Aurora,* but nothing proven conclusively to be written by him has been uncovered since his contributions were always anonymous.

soon after was convicted under the notorious Sedition Act of the Federalist regime.[21]

In 1799 Dickerson was chosen a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia thus launching his long and successful political career.[22] In his politics Dickerson was a zealous supporter of the party of Thomas Jefferson. A few extremely revealing remarks in regard to his bitter distaste for the Federalists are to be found in his Diary at various times:

> Trial of Rush and Cobbett[23] finished, Verdict for Plff. $5,000—a ruinous verdict, and therefore a rascally one,—Jury all Federalists, thank God.[24]

> Attended Circuit Court where two men received death sentences—Judge Chase[25] appeared to be wonderfully affected on this occasion, he began to cry in such a way, that it was impossible for him to finish the sentence . . .[26]

> Rejoiced at the news of the success of the republi-

[21]The most shameful period in the history of our court system came about as a result of the interpretation, by Federalist judges, of the Sedition Act. This was a law of Congress passed on July 14, 1798, which imposed severe penalties on anyone writing or printing false or malicious matter concerning the President or Congress, or for conspiring against the government. In all, about twenty-five persons were arrested and ten, all Republican editors and printers, were conveniently convicted under its terms. See John S. Bassett, *The Federalist System, 1789-1801* (New York, 1906), pp. 209, 264.

[22]The ordinance-making branch of the city government.

[23]Prosecuted before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for libel against the King of Spain and the Ambassador. See John B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, II, 353-54.

[24]Dickerson's Diary, Dec. 14, 1799.

[25]Justice Samuel Chase of the United States Supreme Court was on circuit in 1800 hearing cases under the sedition law. He seemed to abhor everything which was not Federalist and his court rulings showed this bias. For example, in a sedition trial in 1798 he actually ordered the marshal to make sure that no Democrats were on the panel, and in many other instances the same unfairness was displayed. He was later impeached by the House of Representatives (1803), but was acquitted. See John S. Bassett, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 284.

[26]Dickerson's Diary, May 2, 1800.

cans in New York[27]—spent the evening at General Mason's lodgings[28]—Judge Chase left this city,—God be thanked,—may we never see his beefsteak face again.[29]

In 1793 "Citizen" Edmond Charles Genet was sent to the United States as Minister from the French Republic. During the American Revolution we had made a treaty of alliance with France (1778) and it was Genet's purpose to invoke the treaty and secure American aid against Great Britian with whom France was at war. Fearing foreign entanglements, President Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality.[30]

The proclamation was not well received by many in the United States. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, leaned toward England and approved of it, whereas the anti-Federalists remembered how French people had aided us in our struggle for independence from the arbitrary rule of Great Britian. These, therefore, took sides with France and denounced the proclamation.[31]

When Genet arrived in Philadelphia he received a tremendous welcome from the people of that city. A few clever politicians, among whom was Alexander J. Dallas,[32] had noticed the sympathetic attitude of the people towards Genet's mission almost everywhere he went, and decided to utilize the

[27]Among the early leaders of the Tammany Society in New York were Matthew L. Davis and the Swartwout brothers, all of whom were friends of Aaron Burr. In the Presidential election of 1800 Burr was a candidate and New York was the pivotal state. During this period of our history the Presidential electors were chosen by the respective state legislatures. Therefore, it was essential for the candidate to control the Legislature if he were to be successful. This Burr accomplished through the Tammany Society. See M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1931), pp. 19-20.

[28]A strong Republican Senator from Virginia who had voted against the ratification of the Constitution.

[29]Dickerson's Diary, May 3, 1800.

[30]Claude G. Bowers, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-16.

[31]Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1946), I, 367-8.

[32]Dallas became Secretary of the Treasury under President James Madison in 1814.

situation for political purposes.[33] They drew up an elaborate constitution and called themselves the Democratic Society. The true purpose of the organization was to control the politics of Pennsylvania and to re-elect Governor Mifflin, but the purpose set forth in their constitution was much different. They sent out circulars on which were printed copies of the constitution asking the people to read it carefully.

> Any man capable of reflection must, the circular said, see that the present crisis was a most interesting one to America. The monarchical confederation in Europe was Transcendent in power and unparalleled in iniquity. It threatened the very life of freedom. Already Poland had fallen a prey to it, and been parted out among its members. And now the combined kings turned their arms against France. If France fell, then America, the only depository of liberty, would not long be suffered to enjoy peace. But foreign dangers were not the only ones that menaced the Republic. Seeds of luxury had taken root in the democratic soil of America, and the jealous eye of patriotism could not but regard freedom and equality as eclipsed by the pride of wealth and the arrogance of power. These pressing evils had led the subscribers to form a Democratic Society.[34]

Before the year was out Democratic Clubs were flourishing in all parts of the country. It became their policy to condemn and attack the measures of the Federalist controlled government. Ultimately, Thomas Jefferson was to use the societies for "his Citizens' Training Camps where the army he was to lead to victory was being trained for political war."[35]

Dickerson never tried to hide his ill feelings toward the Federalists and he became a member of one of the clubs. He

[33]John B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, II, 109.
[34]*Ibid.*, II, 110.
[35]Claude G. Bowers, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-24.

attended his first Democratic meeting in Philadelphia at Millen's Tavern in June of 1800.[36] There are frequent references made in his Diary of his attending these meetings regularly during his Philadelphia stay. On September 4, 1800, he was admitted to the St. Tammany Society.[37]

His admiration for Thomas Jefferson and his political principles are again displayed in his Diary of February 1801: "A delightful day,—received news this morning that Jefferson was elected at 12 o'clock on Tuesday last,—Bells ringing,—Cannon's firing,[38]—the most joyful day of my life,—attended St. Tammany Society."[39]

The election of 1800 which Dickerson referred to is an interesting one and deserves more than mere passing notice. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Republican candidates opposed by the Federalists John Adams and C. C. Pinckney. As the Constitution then stood, in the election of a President and a Vice-President each member of the Electoral College was to cast two votes without signifying which he meant for President and which he meant for Vice-President. Because the pledged Republican Electors followed their instructions and voted for the same two candidates, the election resulted in a tie between Jefferson and Burr.[40] This necessitated the choice to be made between the two high candidates by the House of Representatives which was controlled by the Federalists. After

[36]Dickerson's Diary, June 25, 1800.

[37]The first Tammany Society was founded at Philadelphia in 1772. Several others were created, but the New York City organization was the only one to survive. In the beginning it was a patriotic and philanthropic society, but in 1800 it entered politics on the side of the Jeffersonian party. See M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (New York, 1922), I, 151-60; M. R. Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-18.

[38]The city of Philadelphia was the scene of a huge demonstration when they learned of the success of Jefferson.

[39]Dickerson's Diary, Feb. 19, 1801.

[40]Political parties had developed so rapidly at this early date that a change in the method used in the Electoral College was necessary lest the election be thrown into the House of Representatives for all time to come.

days of wrangling and intrigue Jefferson, as the lesser of two evils, was elected President and Burr received the Vice-Presidency. This error made by the framers of the Constitution was rectified in 1804 by the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment according to which the Electors cast two separate ballots, one for the President and one for the Vice-President.[41]

The ardent support which Dickerson displayed for the Republican party was soon to bear fruit for he was appointed Commissioner of Bankrupcy by President Thomas Jefferson in 1802.[42] He was appointed Adjutant-General of Philadelphia by Governor Thomas McKean in 1805.[43] Dickerson resigned this position on July 22, 1808, to become Recorder of the city of Philadelphia.[44] Of the offices he had up until this date, Dickerson seems to have enjoyed that of Recorder most of all.[45]

By 1808 Governor McKean was well-advanced in years. During his long career he had held high offices and, as a result, had become rather touchy and set in his ways. Under the Pennsylvania constitution of that day the governor enjoyed extensive powers, among them being the appointment of the

[41]Andrew C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York, 1935), pp. 282-87.

[42]Because of the development of the credit system in the United States, the variable conditions of buying and selling, and the increase in the number of cities, revolutionary changes were effected in the methods of doing business. Panics and demi-panics were frequent occurrences and they ultimately drove both the State and Federal governments into the picture. In 1800 Congress passed a federal bankruptcy act. The measure, however, did not work out according to expectations and was repealed in 1803. These laws related to those engaged in a business or trade, but did not relieve the ordinary person from the penalties to be suffered for not paying his debts. See Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1921), V, 193-94.

[43]In 1799 Governor Mifflin, the Republican, had served three terms as Chief Executive of Pennsylvania. According to the State's constitution he could not serve again. The Republican's, therefore, nominated McKean and he won the election. In the meantime he was re-elected.

[44]A judicial office, held during good behavior, and as such a member of the mayor's court, exercising criminal jurisdiction in the city and also having the jurisdiction and power of a justice of the peace. See Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-70.

[45]Edmund D. Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

state officers and many county officers, without it being necessary to have his choices ratified by any other body.[46] The judicial officers were appointed for life (good behavior) and the only person eligible to remove any state judge was the governor when requested to do so by a two-thirds majority of each house of the legislature.[47]

During his second term in office Governor McKean flatly refused to follow the desires of the more ardent Democrats in the matter of making appointments. He went so far as to confer the post of Chief Justice on William Tilgham, one of the federal judges of the United States Circuit Court, and as a result was severely attacked by William Duane in the *Aurora*.[48] There was also an attempt made to impeach him. However, the attempt failed largely through the efforts of the more level-headed Republicans, including Alexander J. Dallas, John Sergeant,[49] and Dickerson, who backed McKean and organized the Conservative Republican party. The party members were frequently referred to as "quids" as the result of a well-known political figure of that day, Michael Leib, calling the party a *tertium quid* party.[50] Dickerson was an extremely active member of the party and penned a number of political articles in the

[46]A rather extensive right in an age when the trend was to limit the governor's powers as much as possible. However, the Pennsylvania Constitution adopted on September 2, 1790, was very democratic and progressive. See Allen Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution* (New York, 1924), pp. 197-200.

[47]Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[48]There were many factions in the Republican party during this period. The dissension was at its worst in Pennsylvania, where the Conservative Republicans were acting hand in glove with the Federalists. Duane, because of the influence wielded by his *Aurora* in the election of 1800, felt that the patronage in Pennsylvania should be turned over to himself so that he could take care of his friends. Both McKean and Jefferson refused to listen to his demands and as a result Duane developed a bitter distaste for them. See Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 1801-1811 (New York, 1906), pp. 222-23.

[49]Sergeant later became an anti-Jacksonian because of the stand taken by Jackson on the Bank question. See Claude G. Bowers, *The Party Battles of the Jackson Period* (New York, 1922), pp. 277-78.

[50]Literally translated this means a third something.

newspapers which were favorable to it.[51] By receiving help from the Federalists in the next election, McKean, the Conservative Republican's candidate was re-elected.[52]

Mahlon Dickerson's father died in 1810 leaving to him some valuable mineral property at Succasunna in Morris County, New Jersey.[53] He resigned his position as Recorder of Philadelphia in the same year and returned to his native state to develop the property. An idea of the actual value of this inheritance can be ascertained by quoting a description of the property which was written in 1844:

> Hon. Mahlon Dickerson, late Secretary of the Navy, resides on a beautiful situation about three miles SW. of Dover. Adjacent is the celebrated Suckasunny iron mine, remarkable for its excellent ore. The deposits appear inexhaustible; it is highly magnetic, yielding by chemical process 82 parts in 100 of iron. Shafts have been sunk to the depths of 70, and drifts driven over 120 feet. The first ore obtained in the county (Morris) was taken from this mine, from whence it was carried to Morristown, Hanover, and Essex co., in leathern bags on the backs of horses, to be manufactured. The land in the vicinity was first taken up in 1717 by Joseph Kirkbridge; previously the ore was free to all. For the last 30 years it has been owned and skillfully wrought by the Hon. Mahlon Dickerson.[54]

Home once again, Dickerson became active in New Jersey politics, being elected a member of the State Assembly from Morris County in 1812 and again in 1813. In October of the latter year he was appointed Justice of the Supreme Court of

[51]These pieces too, like his articles for the *Aurora*, are anonymous.
[52]Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
[53]*Cyclopaedia of New Jersey Biography* (New York, 1923), p. 55.
[54]John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New York, 1844), p. 400.

New Jersey to succeed the Hon. William S. Pennington who had resigned after being elected Governor of the State. Unfortunately, no case decided while Dickerson was on the bench has ever been reported.[55]

Steam navigation was an important problem which demanded attention at this time. Aaron Ogden and Daniel Dod were in business together running a steamboat between Elizabethtown and New York. Prior to the information of this enterprise, the New York legislature had given to Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston the exclusive rights to navigate the waters of New York State with steamboats for a number of years. This brought them into conflict. In 1813 the legislature of New Jersey passed an act granting exclusive privileges in the waters of New Jersey to Ogden and Dod, a somewhat retaliatory measure. The statute was the cause of much controversy and prompted Livingston to appeal to the New Jersey legislature.[56] Dickerson was a member of the legislative committee which considered this topic. Late in 1813 Dickerson received a letter from Fulton which expressed fear that his rights would be infringed upon. Dickerson replied to Fulton on January 14. 1814, reassuring him that his rights would be safeguarded, concluding with:

> I think you will find no disposition in our legislature to protect any of our citizens in the use of your improvement without your permission; for generally they think, as I sincerely do, that but for your talents and perserverance, the science of steamboat navigation would still have remained where it was ten years ago, buried under a heap of obloquy and ridicule. It is very evident that the difference between your boat and that of Mr. Fitch[57] is the difference between a success-

[55]Edmund D. Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
[56]Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.
[57]The New Jersey Legislature had earlier conferred the exclusive privileges formerly exercised by John Fitch upon Ogden and Dod.

ful and an abortive experiment, which is all the difference in the world.[58]

After careful study the New Jersey legislature finally repealed the law in January 1815. Trouble did not cease at this point however, because in the meantime Thomas Gibbons had set up a steamboat in opposition to Ogden.[59]

After the repeal of the New Jersey law, Ogden was forced into an agreement with Livingston and Fulton whereby he was authorized to run his boat in the New York waters. In order to enter into this agreement, Ogden had to file a bill in the New York chancery court against Gibbons. The chancery court ruled in favor of Ogden, and Gibbons was ordered to abandon the operation of his boat.[60] Gibbons, however, refused to accept defeat and appealed his case to the Supreme Court of the United States where, in a famous decision, that of Gibbons *v.* Ogden, Chief Justice John Marshall reversed the previous decision and ended the steamboat monopoly.[61] Here Marshall interpreted the word "commerce" as found in the Constitution of the United States in the broadest sense possible and declared the act of the New York legislature unconstitutional on the ground that it infringed upon the right of United States Congress to regulate commerce.

This matter is of particular interest because of the fact that when Ogden's enterprise subsequently failed, Cornelius Vanderbilt bought one of the steamboats with money his wife had managed to save from her household expenses. This was the beginning of Vanderbilt's financial ascendancy.[62]

[58]Josiah C. Pumpelly, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
[59]Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.
[60]*Ibid.*, p. 156.
[61]9 Wheaton, 1 (1824).
[62]Josiah C. Pumpelly, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Chapter II
GOVERNOR DICKERSON

The New Jersey Constitution of 1776 required that the Governor of the State be chosen for a term of one year by a joint meeting of the Legislative Council and General Assembly during the month of October.[1] It was in this manner that Mahlon Dickerson was unanimously elected Governor of the State of New Jersey on October 26, 1815. Evidently not being one to excite himself, Dickerson very leisurely noted this great honor in his Diary thusly: "Mr. Hankinson brot news at 7 p.m. of my election as Governor of the State — refused an escort to Trenton."[2]

Dickerson took his oath of office as Governor at Trenton on October 30, 1815, and immediately following the ceremony delivered an extremely conciliatory speech to the Legislative Council.[3] A few excerpts from this message seem to indicate the political harmony of the time:

> It is a matter of great consolation to me, that in many of my most important duties, I have constitutional advisors, whose knowledge, judgement and experience justly entitles them to the confidence of the public; and who, from duty as well as inclination, will cheerfully give their aid in all measures calculated to promote the peace and prosperity, and to maintain the lawful rights of the state.
>
> The manner of my appointment, while it gratifies my feelings, and demands my warmest acknowledgments, affords me a pledge, that I shall experience the indulgence, and the cordial and generous support, of both houses of the Legisuature.

[1]New Jersey retained its 1776 Constitution until 1844. See copy in Joseph C. Potts, *The New Jersey Register for the Year* 1837 (Trenton, N. J., 1837), pp. 2-14.
[2]Dickerson's Diary, Oct. 26, 1815.
[3]*Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1815.

> And the liberality already displayed, justifies the hope, that harmony will prevail in our councils, and that the public business will receive no detriment from the jarring of local interests, or the collision of party.[4]

Perhaps it would be well to pause here and survey the politics of New Jersey from the beginning of our national government in 1789 until the election of Mahlon Dickerson as United States Senator in 1817. For the first thirteen years state politics was under Federalist domination. The Federalist governors included William Livingston (1789-1790), William Paterson (1790-1792), and Richard Howell (1792-1801).[5] It is safe to assume that the Legislature was also Federalist in its composition since it was they who elected the governors under the Constitution of 1776. For the next sixteen years, with the exception of 1812-13 when the Federalist, Aaron Ogden, was chosen, Democratic-Republican governors held sway.[6]

On the national political scene during these same years, especially in the choice of the President and the Vice-President, New Jersey was predominantly Federalist. George Washington in 1789 and 1792, and John Adams in 1796 and 1800, received the electoral vote of the state. For the first time, in 1804, New Jersey's electoral votes were cast for a Democratic- Republican candidate, Thomas Jefferson. Again, in 1808, the Democratic-Republicans won with James Madison, but in 1812 the votes reverted to the Federalist candidate, DeWitt Clinton. In 1816 New Jersey was back in the Democratic-Republican column with James Monroe.[7]

In his first gubernatorial message to a joint meeting of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly delivered on

[4]Trenton *True American*, Nov. 6, 1815.
[5]William S. Myers, ed., *The Story of New Jersey* (New York, 1945), I, 180.
[6]The Democratic-Republican governors were Joseph Bloomfield (1801-12), William S. Pennington (1813-15), and Mahlon Dickerson (1815-17).
[7]William S. Myers, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 180.

January 12, 1816, Governor Dickerson opened his remarks by referring to the Treaty of Ghent as an "honorable peace."[8] He then proceeded to cite what he considered as being the most important contribution of the War of 1812 to the United States. In the first place, he felt that the treaty of commerce following the war would become the foundation of a lasting peace.[9] Secondly, he believed that the war had made the United States an important commercial nation. Thirdly, he reasoned that because the United States had fought without foreign aid, we had proved to Europe and to the rest of the world that we were a nation to be reckoned with, and had therefore earned their respect. Fourthly, he claimed that by channeling the capital formerly employed almost exclusively in commerce into new ventures, it had pointed to the discovery of diverse means of prosperity and wealth, which otherwise perhaps would have remained untouched.[10] This, therefore, had precipitated a gi-

[8]The treaty was signed late in December 1814, formally ending the War of 1812. Many authors are of the opinion that the treaty said very little about anything. See Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1942), I, 429-31).

[9]The commercial convention was signed on July 3, 1815, and was to expire at the end of four years, but it was later extended to ten years. According to the most important of its terms there were to be no discriminatory duties levied by either country against the goods or ships of the other. There was to be reciprocal liberty of commerce between the territories of the United States and the territories of Great Britian in Europe. Intercourse between the United States and the British West Indies was not to be included in the agreement. See Kendric C. Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality* (New York, 1906), pp. 259-62.

[10]The weaknesses and strength of New Jersey industries came to light during the War of 1812. "The preceding embargo and trade restriction had stimulated factory production but the State's industrialists, including the manufacturers, the common carriers, and the merchants had opposed the declaration of war because New Jersey lay between Philadelphia and New York and was likely to be subjected to the dangers of invasion. The war once begun, the manufacturers found that the foreign producers had vacated the American market, at least temporarily; so the more hardy and ambitious plunged their capital and that of outside investors into making goods for this new domestic demand. There seemed to be more capital at hand to justify expansion, becuase the common carrier by transportation services between the Delaware and the Hudson brought more than two million dollars into the State. Industry throve—for the duration of the war." See Irving S. Kull, ed., *New Jersey, A History* (New York, 1930), II, 583.

gantic revolution in the "occupations, views, and pursuit of the people in all corners of the United States."[11] Fifthly, he felt that the war had proved the necessity and urgency that we should be able to supply ourselves in the United States many products which we formerly had imported from Europe or Asia. Finally, Dickerson believed that we had learned an invaluable lesson—to increase our army and navy so as to be prepared for war at all times.[12]

This was followed by a series of recommendations made to the Legislature for the ensuing year.[13] Most of the proposals dealt with transportation and manufacturing, but because Dickerson was himself an iron industrialist and therefore a high protectionist, it does not appear at all strange that he should consider these topics as being of the utmost importance.[14] He first pointed out the vast improvements in roads, especially in northern New Jersey, and cited how they had facilitated the transportation of goods to market and had enhanced the value of the land along their routes.[15] By raising the

[11]Newark *Sentinel of Freedom,* Jan. 16, 1816.
[12]*Ibid.,* Jan. 16, 1816.
[13]*Ibid.,* Jan. 16. 1816.
[14]The second mass movement of the people to the West came about a year after the end of the War of 1812. In 1816 John C. Calhoun proposed that the national government apply federal funds to the development of the West. By such a policy, he claimed, not only would the farmers and merchants prosper, but the unity of the country would also be aided. The bill passed both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Monroe because he doubted its constitutionality. The champions of internal improvements, who were anxious for the business afforded to the West, therefore turned to the state legislatures for appropriations and grants of power. The states came through admirably. In 1817 New York began to construct the Erie Canal. The Pennsylvania legislature appropriated funds for the building of turnpikes and canals to the West as did Maryland and Virginia. See Kendric C. Babcock, *op. cit.,* pp. 243-58.
[15]This was the age when companies were being chartered by the New Jersey Legislature to build plank roads and turnpikes. The turnpikes were usually "macadamized", that is, covered with broken stone, a process which had been developed in England by John Macadam, a Scottish engineer. The plank road, as the name implies, had wood in place of stone as the surface material. Although the tolls charged for the use of these roads were high, they did speed transportation and cut down considerably on wear and tear thereby tending to reduce the

value of taxable property, he claimed, the roads had added to the amount of money going into the State treasury. He ultimately came to the point and proposed the construction of a canal to connect the waters of the Delaware River with those of the Raritan. The advantages which would accrue from such an enterprise were enumerated by the Governor as being that a canal would provide security in war and abundant revenue in peace, and that it would serve to solidify a bond of union among the states along the Atlantic coast. He strongly urged that all local considerations, in a project of such national importance, be pushed into the background.

The new Governor next turned to the state of infant manufacturers in which New Jersey was an interested party.[16] Much of our capital, he declared, was invested in manufacturing and if we were not protected against English products flowing into the United States many of our manufacturing establishments would fall into ruin. He said of British tariff legislation:

> England owes much of its present wealth to the legislative protection afforded to its manufacturers. As early as Edward IV the English Parliament prohibited the importation of a great variety of articles of foreign manufacture and they have pursued this policy ever since with modification. The United States should adopt a similar policy.[17]

cost of shipping goods. See William S. Myers, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 183; Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), III, 167-74.

[16]With the coming of peace in Europe (1815), prosperity made its exodus from the United States. England in particular was responsible for dumping goods on our shores. Once the war had ended, England's standing army was reduced and the ex-soldiers were added to the swelling ranks of English labor. This resulted in a lowering of wages and prices. English manufacturers, not being able to sell their merchandise at home, saw the opportunity afforded by the low tariff rates of the United States to unload their wares. They wasted no time in sending swarms of ships laden with their products to America. The competition proved to be too strong for the United States and we suffered severe financial set-backs. See Francis B. Lee, *op. cit.*, III, 139-40; Irving S. Kull, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 583-84.

[17]Newark *Sentinel of Freedom*, Jan. 16, 1816.

Dickerson thereupon urged the Legislature of the State to exert pressure upon Congress to adopt a protective tariff.[18] The Legislature complied with this suggestion a few days later.

In February, 1816, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander J. Dallas, in response to a resolution from the House of Representatives, came forth with a lengthy and complete report on the subject of tariffs.[19] In March, 1816, a bill based on the report was introduced in Congress. After more than a month of debate and discussion the first real protective tariff in the history of the United States became law on April 27, 1816.

The Tariff Act of 1816 placed imports into three categories. In the first category, rates which were high enough to exclude foreign goods were levied on commodities which we could produce at home in sufficient quantities to meet our own demand. In the second category, moderate rates were placed on those commodities which we could not produce enough of in the United States. In the third category fell all other imports.[20] Glass, pottery, iron, woolens, hardware, and leather were all slightly protected by the bill, but cotton was rewarded most handsomely.[21]

The Federalist Party was fast disappearing from the political scene by 1816, at which time party lines had grown quite obscure.[22] No longer were political fisticuffs in evidence as

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]Kendric C. Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.

[20]This was for revenue only and was slight.

[21]Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1941), pp. 393-95.

[22]The Hartford Convention of December 1814 came about as the result of the discontent of the New England Federalists with the War of 1812, with the accession of western territory, and with the Republican administration. Delegates from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont were in attendance. They resolved, among other things, the following: "The states represented to take the necessary steps to protect their citizens from the provisions of all acts of Congress providing for the draft, conscription, or impressment of the militia or other citizens of the states, unauthorized by the Constitution; These same states, through their legislatures, should seek to obtain from the federal government an arrangement by which the states might assume the defence of their own territory, and have reimburse-

prominently as they had been between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans during the late 1700's and early 1800's. This fact was well noted in Mahlon Dickerson's closing remarks to the aforementioned joint meeting:

> It is a pleasing reflection, that as peace and prosperity return, party spirit subsides; political animosity yields to a general emulation to promote the public good; and if we preserve the harmony in our councils which now happily prevails, we may reasonably hope to perform the duties imposed upon us, in a manner honorable to ourselves, and satisfactory to those for whom we act.[23]

The canal project which Governor Dickerson had so fondly proposed in his legislative message was favorably reported by the committee, headed by Mr. Simpson, to which it had been assigned by the Legislature on January 25, 1816. The canal was to be financed by selling subscription books for the stock of the company, and within a short time the books were on sale, not only in New Jersey, but also in a few large cities outside of the state including Philadelphia and New York. The reaction of the public, however, was not nearly up to the expectations of the founders of the idea. Any number of considerations may have been responsible for dampening the anticipated results. Perhaps the outstanding reason for the failure was "the opinion among investors that the income to be derived from the tolls would provide a meager return on the large capital which the canal venture would require."[24] Al-

ment by means of a portion of the federal revenue collected within these states, such portion to be paid into the state treasury."

By this action the Federalists had committed political suicide because the Republicans siezed upon the opportunity to brand them as traitors. From this point on the Federalist Party declined more rapidly than ever. See Kendric C. Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-67; Charles and Mary Beard, *op. cit.*, I, 426-28.

[23]Newark *Sentinel of Freedom*, Jan. 16, 1816.

[24]*A History of Trenton*, 1679-1929 (Princeton, N. J., 1929), I, 280.

though this failure was a blow to many persons, interest in a canal did not die easily.

The idea to unite the Delaware and Raritan rivers by a canal was revived by the Legislature in 1823 and commissioners were appointed to study the matter further. This time they recommended that the state should become a party in the undertaking. On February 4, 1830, the Legislature passed a bill incorporating the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company. Work on the canal was completed sometime in 1834 at a total cost of $2,830,000.[25]

Mahlon Dickerson's first term as governor was looked upon quite favorably and as a result, a joint meeting of both Houses of the Legislature re-elected him without opposition on October 28, 1816, for his second term. Dickerson's Diary notes this fact very briefly: "Re-elected Governor."[26]

A few days before his re-election, October 22, 1816, Governor Dickerson delivered an address to a joint meeting of the Legislature. A major portion of the speech was devoted to the unfavorable economic conditions still prevailing.[27] In pointing to the bad harvests in New Jersey in 1815 as one of the causes of the situation, he indicates that he was, what today would be referred to as a "dry:"

> The enhanced price of grain, although a partial evil, will have the salutory tendency to prevent extravagance and waste; and it is to be hoped will restrain our distillers from converting into poison, the gift intended by the bounty of Heaven to man, for his nourishment.[28]

Among the other causes of the economic unrest Dickerson cited were the lack of specie as a medium of exchange, the

[25]Francis B. Lee, *op. cit.*, III, 177-82.

[26]Dickerson's Diary, Oct. 28, 1816.

[27]Despite the passage of the Tariff Act of 1816, British goods continued to flow into the United States almost unabated. See Kendric C. Babcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

[28]New Brunswick, N. J., *The Times: New Brunswick General Advertiser,* Oct. 31, 1816.

depreciated value of paper money issued by the banks, variable bank exchange rates, the importation of more European goods than we had money to pay for, and the lack of an adequate protective tariff for our manufacturers, "especially the bar iron manufacturers which are important to New Jersey."[29] The remainder of the message dealt with the construction of wing dams on the Delaware River.

Relative to that part of the Governor's message dealing with the manufacture of bar iron, a legislative committee was appointed to investigate the situation. The committee reported in January, 1817, that the condition of the bar iron factories in this state were in a deplorable plight and recommended that the New Jersey Legislature call it to the attention of the Congress of the United States, the only body which could produce the needed remedy. Thereupon, on January 16, 1817, a resolution was passed by the Legislature requesting the Senators and Representatives from New Jersey in the Congress of the United States "to use their endeavors to promote such measures as will tend to encourage and protect the manufactory of iron in the United States."[30]

An interesting episode concerning Dickerson and the question of slavery came to light at about this same time.[31] A meeting was held in Washington, D. C., on December 23, 1816, to consider a proposition for the establishment of a "Colony of Free Blacks."[32] The number of persons attending was very large.

[29]*Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey,* Forty-first Gen. Assemb., First Sitting (Trenton, 1816), pp. 15-19.

[30]Newark *Sentinel of Freedom,* Jan. 23, 1817.

[31]In 1804 a law was passed in New Jersey providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and in 1846 another law technically ended it. See Irving S. Kull, ed., *op. cit.,* II, 738-42.

[32]There were many persons, both in the North and in the South, who felt that the presence of free negroes in the United States was not to our best advantage. In seeking a solution to their problem, they founded the American Colonization Society. The plan of the organization was to buy some land on the western coast of Africa, or to acquire part of a West Indian island, and to send there, with all expenses paid, the free blacks who were willing to go. See Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1936), V, 137-38.

The Honorable Henry Clay was named chairman and the meeting was highlighted by a speech delivered by Elias B. Caldwell, who offered a number of resolutions for appointing a committee to draw up and report a constitution for the association. The resolution was accepted, but with a disclaimer attached: "It is scarcely necessary to add, that all connection of this proposition with the emancipation of slaves, present or future, is explicitly disclaimed."[33] On January 9, 1817, a meeting was held in Trenton, at the home of Jacob Herbert, to consider the advisability "of forming a colony of the free people of color on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere."[34] This was to be the New Jersey branch of the American Colonization Society. Many important people from various parts of the state attended, as well as most of the members of the State Legislature and Mahlon Dickerson was appointed chairman. The following resolutions were proposed and adopted:

> 1. Resolved, That this meeting has heard with high satisfaction of the formation, at Washington, of the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States.
>
> 2. Resolved, That this meeting deem it expedient to proceed without delay to form a society in the state of New Jersey, auxiliary to the American Society mentioned in the proceeding resolution and for promoting the same object.
>
> 3. Resolved, That Col. Beatty and Samuel Bayard, esquire of Princeton, William Coxe, esquire of Burlington, Col. Frelinghuysen of Somerset, and the Reverend Mr. Howe of Trenton, be commissioned to draft a constitution suitable for such an auxiliary society and a memorial to the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, to be submitted to this meeting with all convenient expediency.

[33] *The Times: New Brunswick General Advertiser,* Jan. 2, 1817.
[34] *Ibid.,* Jan 16, 1817.

4. Resolved, That it be recommended to the citizens of our sister states to form associations similar to this.[35]

Unfortunately, no material has been uncovered so as to disclose Mahlon Dickerson's true sentiments towards the slavery issue. Nevertheless, the resolutions were rejected in the Assembly by a vote of 20-18 on February 11, and the movement in New Jersey seems to have subsided.[36]

Free schools were practically unknown at the end of the eighteenth century. It was during Dickerson's administration that the first step was taken in New Jersey to create a permanent fund for the establishment and support of a public school system.[37] In February, 1817, the Legislature passed "an act to create a fund for the support of free schools."[38] The fund proved to be wholly inadequate and the people therefore continued to rely on local support for their schools.

FITZ RANDOLPH GENEALOGY

Announcement is made of a forthcoming genealogy which should be of great interest to members of the family, to genealogists and genealogical libraries.

"DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD FITZ RANDOLPH AND ELIZABETH BLOSSOM, 1630-1950." Compiled by Louise Aymar Christian and Howard Stelle Fitz Randolph. Ann Arbor, Edwards Bros. 1950.

Both compilers are descendants of Edward and his wife Elizabeth Blossom and have been working on this family for some years. The results of their researches will undoubtedly

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] The national Society continued to exist, but in the end it failed to accomplish its object. Various reasons are given for the failure, but the most important seem to be that enough money could not be collected for their expenses and that most negroes did not wish to leave the United States. See Edward Channing, *op. cit.*, V, 139-40.

[37] William S. Myers, *op. cit.*, II, 554.

[38] *Ibid.*, I, 448.

prove to be in great demand. The book is illustrated with a number of old family silhouettes.

The edition is limited to 250 copies and will not be reprinted. It will be ready for distribution about the fifteenth of November. Price $7.50. Orders can be placed with The New Jersey Historical Society but checks should be drawn to the order of Louise Aymar Christian, *not* to the Society.

NEW BRUNSWICK AS IT APPEARED IN 1825-1826

By Charles D. Deshler

Transcribed and Edited by Elmer T. Hutchinson,
Corresponding Secretary, New Jersey Historical Society

(*continued from July,* 1950 *number*)

Crossing Peace street, on the corner opposite the White Hall Tavern, was the State Bank, then a comparatively new and handsome, but modest building, still standing though materially altered externally and internally, and now owned by The New Brunswick Free Library. This was then justly regarded as one of the best and safest banks in the United States, its notes were hoarded by the farmers the same as gold and silver, and passed current all through New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and even in the states Ohio and Indiana. The bank occupied a modest banking office and director's room on the corner, while the remainder of the building was the residence of its cashier, Daniel W. Disborough—grandfather of ex-Gov. Ludlow. It was not an unusual thing when the grain trade was at its height, in the late fall and winter, to find hard fisted farmers here by the score, getting cashed the checks of our principal dealers—James Bishop (the elder), Samuel Holcombe, Josiah Stout, Joseph C. Griggs, Ayres and Freeman, John Robinson, Judge Simpson, James S. Dunham, the Nelsons, and others—and affectionately pocketting the crisp State Bank notes, with the comfortable conviction that they were "as good as gold." And so they were, and so they continued to be as

long as men of sterling and tried honesty were its officers, and wise and prudent as well as honest men its directors; and when the latter kept as close an eye on the property that was entrusted to their oversight, as if it were their own. Adjoining the State Bank on the west was the brick building, still standing, then occupied by one of our most sterling citizens, the late Samuel Baker, as his residence, and his watchmaker and silversmith shop. Then came a private alleyway which was a part of the property of John T. Duyckinck, and led to that gentleman's soap and candle factory, and extensive barns, in the rear of his shop and residence, next above Mr. Baker's. This soap and candle factory was then the only establishment of the kind in our city, and was one of the oldest in the State. Next above the Duyckinck property were the house and private alley of Robert Letson, the latter leading back to capacious barns and stables and the former being his family residence. "Uncle Bobby," as he was familiarly known, was quite a character. Short, thick set, and as stubborn as he looked, he was besides as pugnacious (I do not mean physically) as a bull dog, and close, to penuriousness. He was, for those days, a "warm" man, a tanner, and the owner of sundry lines of stages which ran to Easton and elsewhere, the "booking offices" of which, however, were at one or another of the hotels. Following this came, successively, a three story yellow-painted brick house, since modernized and converted into an apartment house, at that time the residence of the eminent lawyer, George Wood, whose law office and that of his brother Edward were in the same building; a two-story frame building, the residence of Abraham Schuyler Clark; a frame building and extension on the street, occupied by Richard Lupardus (father in law of A. S. Clark) as his family residence and harness-maker's shop; another modest two story frame building, the residence of William Letson (of Terhune & Letson); a capacious ante-revolutionary mansion of frame, with shingle front, formerly belonging to one of our old families, but in 1825 let out to various tenants; a frame building, formerly the book and

newspaper printing office, and bookstore, distinguished by the sign of Washington's Head, conducted severally by Shelly Arnett, Abraham Blauvelt, and Lewis Deare, but occupied in 1825 by Terhune & Letson, as a bookstore in the front, and as a book bindery and printing office in the rear, the principal book published here being the old Noah Webster spelling book, for which Squire Terhune had the author's license for New Jersey; a two story frame building and annex, the residence and office of Dr. Ephraim F. R. Smith; a small frame house, the residence and candy shop of the Widow Luffberry (the mother-in-law of Hiram Hutchinson); and finally, on this block, the City Hotel, which was then much as it is today on the exterior, with the exception of some modernization, the extension of the piazza which then stood in front of the hall entrance only, and the removal of the old sign-post, with its large swinging sign atop, from the street corner in front. This hotel was kept by George Follett, an Englishman by birth, and a highly excellent man as well as a model landlord. His inn was considered the best in the town, and was much resorted to by the most respectable and intelligent gentlemen of the city.

We have now reached King street, as that part of Neilson street north of Albany street was then called—the part south of Albany street being called Queen street.

The old mansion on the corner opposite the City Hotel, on the west, was then occupied by [Anna] the widow of Dr. Moses Scott, of revolutionary memory, and her two maiden daughters [Hannah and Phoebe], but a part of it had been converted into lawyer's offices, one of which was occupied by Lewis D. Hardenbergh, a brother of Cornelius L. Hardenbergh. Then followed, successively, an ancient frame building, the lower story of which was of stone, by whom occupied I cannot recall; a fine old frame building, the residence of William Lupp; the neat residence of Mrs. Bayard; Mrs. Patterson's residence, on the corner of the Alley, still open; the brick building still standing, above the Alley, then Col. Joseph W. Scott's residence and law office—the latter shared by the late

John S. Blauvelt; Dr. Charles Smith's fine brick mansion, now the residence of William Leupp, the building, recently a club house, but then the residence of a Widow Van Dyck; and, lastly, on the corner of George street, the residence and office of Dr. Augustus R. Taylor, since then much changed by additions within and without.

The opposite corner, across George street on the west, where the German Reformed Church now stands, was a vacant lot; and the first house above it, was the frame building, still standing but much altered, at that time the residence and store of Robert Eastburn, a son of the old druggist of that name and father of the present elder Robert Eastburn. Mr. Eastburn was a plane-maker, and his shop, where that industry and other wood-work was carried on, was in the rear. There was no other house at that time until the brick-house on the corner of the Alley, nearly opposite Spring Alley was reached, now occupied by ex-Governor Ludlow, but at that time the residence of Cornelius L. Hardenbergh, whose law office was in a little wooden annex on the east. Beyond the Alley were several small frame buildings, still standing but altered, whose occupants I do not remember. The brick house on the corner of Albany street and Easton avenue (then the Easton Turnpike), was occupied by the distinguished blind scholar, Dr. Joseph Nelson, who was rector of the Grammar School and professor of languages (1826-29) in Rutgers College. It should be said here, that all the houses on the side of Albany street just passed over, from Water street to the Easton Turnpike, had large gardens attached, which were cultivated with great skill and assiduity by their several owners or occupants, with the execption of those which were taverns.

Above the Easton Turnpike, there were no houses on the northerly side of Albany street that I now recall, save a few scattered cabins between the Turnpike and the intersection of Somerset street with Albany street, on the high ground between Somerset street and Church street, then known as "Nigger Hill," from the race chiefly dwelling thereon.

On the southerly side of Albany street, west of the Turnpike there were a few houses, whose occupants have escaped my memory, with the exception of a small house a few rods above the point made by Albany and French streets. This was occupied by John Aitkin, an eccentric but intelligent Scotsman, with a "bee in his bonnet" on the subject of common salt, whose virtues as "the great decompose of Nature" he used to descant upon with great earnestness. He was a tanner by trade, and was employed at that time in the tannery on Spring Alley and Albany street. Except also, the extensive hat store and manufactory of Benajah Martin, on the point of Albany and French streets, in the buildings still standing there.

Before proceeding down Albany street on the south side, a moment may be spared to trace the few houses and people on French street to its intersection with Church street. Here was a point, made by the intersection of the two streets, which then extended some distance further to the westward than it now does. This point was then occupied by Benajah Martin, whose hat factory we have just passed. The brick building still standing on this point was Mr. Martin's family residence, and in front and rear of it was a fine garden. The houses, on both sides of French street, intervening between this point and where French street faded into Albany street, were few, and their only occupants whom I can now recall were Mrs. Vethake, mother of Professor [Henry] Vethake, and her daughter; a Mr. Chapman, a connection of Mr. John B. Hill; and a Mrs. Vanderveer. Then came, in Albany street, the residences of Neil Campbell (grandfather of E. G. Campbell), J. R. Van Liew, P. Voorhees, and, on the upper or S.W. corner of Spring Alley, in an old wooden building since vanished, the grocery and feed store of Fouratt & Cook. On the lower, or S.E. corner of the Alley, slumbered a very old and very small frame house, but by whom it was occupied I do not remember; and stretching around and hemming it in, on the south and east, was the tannery of "Uncle Bobby" Letson. Farther down the street were the frame buildings, some of which are still standing

but slightly altered, then occupied by John S. Letson, David Ackerman, John Conover, and others; and, on the corner of George street, fronting on Albany was the old Freeman residence. Through the lots in the rear of all these houses, below Spring Alley, ran the Barrack Spring Brook, gradually widening and deepening, till in the rear of the Freeman house, and as it ran through the lots on Albany street below George street, it became quite a broad and steep ravine, whose sides were converted into thrifty gardens and grassy lawns by the industrious residents of the houses on Church and Albany streets. In 1825 there was no building of any kind on the S.E. corner of Albany and George streets, and the entire space now occupied by the Second Reformed church and the two brick buildings adjoining on George street, was a vacant lot, deeply gullied on the sides nearest the brook. The houses immediately east of this corner at that day, are for the most part still standing though greatly altered and enlarged. These were then occupied by Rev. Dr. John Dewitt, a professor in the College (father of the present Rev. Dr. of the same name), Lewis Hardenbergh, brother of Cornelius L., and John Van Nuis the old carriage builder; and here also, fronting in the street, was the large carriage and wheelwright establishment of the latter. Then came several vacant lots; the old frame dwelling still standing (new number 84), then occupied by a Mr. Harrison; and, finally, at the end of the block, on the S.W. corner of Albany and Queen (now Neilson) streets, was the well-preserved, old, white-stuccoed, stone house, in later years popularly known as "Washington's Headquarters," for no other reason, so far as I have been able to discover, than that it had formerly been an inn where Gen. Washington had put up on one or more of his few visits to our City. In 1825, it was occupied in part by Daniel P. Pierson as a harness store and factory — this was immediately on the corner; in part by his own and other families; and in part by young lawyers as their offices.

We have now reached the old frame buildings, still standing on the S.E. corner of Albany and Neilson (then Queen)

streets. Here was the hostelry of William Mann — in later years, when the nullification issue, on which Gen. Jackson put his iron heel, was agitating the country, called "The Union House;" but in 1825 it was known simply as "Mann's." In an upper story of this hotel, extending along Neilson street from within 20 or 25 feet of the Albany street front to its extreme rear, was the capacious apartment, then generally known as "Mann's Long Room," and in which, in default of any other public room of sufficient size, our citizens held public meetings and celebrations. This tavern was the headquarters of the Adams men in the Adams and Jackson campaigns; and in front of it was planted a young oak tree, the emblem of the Adams men, just as hickory saplings, the emblem of the Jackson men, were planted in front of the taverns which were the rallying centres of the Jackson party. Mann's Long Room was the scene of numerous dinners on Washington's Birthday, the Fourth of July, and other festivals; as also of the peripatetic "shows" of the day—among which I recall, when I was a lad of 7 or 8, one whose stock in trade consisted of several Egyptian mummies and as many sarcophagi, which were exhibited and dilated upon by the scientific lecturer of some incipient Barnum. Mann's tavern was a plain, comfortable, old-fashioned inn, at which no drunkenness was incited or permitted; and Mr. Mann, himself was a prince among hosts—gay, genial, hospitable, a good story teller, fond of a joke of which he had an inexhaustible repertory, and withal a generous, kind-hearted, whole-souled and most exemplary citizen. His tavern was an important centre, inasmuch as it was the principal booking office of the more important stage lines of the day, which took on the passengers and started from before his door, and also drew up there on their return trips to discharge passengers and luggage. There was a long two story frame house next to Mann's Tavern, on the east, the portion of which immediately adjoining,—now replaced by the brick front No. 72 — was occupied by A. V. Thompson as his residence and tailor-shop; and the part next to and over the open way that was then, as

it now is, the entrance to the livery stable in the rear, was occupied by a Miss Dunn who taught in it a private school for small girls. Mr. Thompson, was much esteemed as a citizen, and like nearly all of his craft from the time of Snip, as memoralized by Shakespeare, was an ardent military man, up to 1826 being the Lieutenant of the City Guard under the captaincy of Capt. Ephraim Mackey, and after the latter's death in 1826 succeeding him as Captain. The livery stable in the rear was conducted by "Bill" (Wm. H.) Stelle, one of the Piscataway family of that name, who had domiciliated in our place and had become one of the fast young bloods of the time. The occupant of the next house (now the residence of Garret D. Conover) I do not remember; but the two brick houses next below were occupied respectively, the first, by Mahlon S. Clark (father of Mrs. Anthony Elmendorf) who was a bookkeeper in the State Bank—one of the rooms being let to George P. Molleson for his first law office; and the other, by Col. Richard Duryee, one of the most popular and most highly esteemed merchants in the town. He was actively engaged in the hardware business—more extensively than any other dealer of that period in the town—his store being on Church street almost directly in the rear of his residence. Besides being engaged in the hardware business, Colonel Duryee was active and influential in many things. He was an earnest politician of the Adams or anti-Jackson school; he was an enthusiast in military matters, was considered an accomplished tactician, and a little later, he originated the Governor's Guards, which became famous even outside our city and state, and he was a leading and consistent member of the Dutch church (the First Reformed Church), and the efficient Superintendent of its large Sunday School. He was a fine-looking, manly man—tall, erect, graceful, and dignified. His character was a beautiful one; to fine mental, moral, and physical gifts he united the most winning urbanity and a perennial kindliness; and he was a model of purity and probity. Socially, he was a very charming man; and children always counted on him as a sure friend. I recall

that when I was about 7 or 8 years old he gave an evening entertainment at his house to a number of the children and teachers of his Sunday School. On his way towards home, on the evening in question, he dropped in at my grandfather's and suggested that, although I was not a member of his Sunday School, he would like me to go with him and enjoy the evening with the other little folk, many of whom were my companions or acquaintances. My grandfather cordially consenting to the proposition, I was arrayed in my best clothes while the Colonel waited; and when all was completed he took me by the hand, and I was soon ensconced behind Mrs. Duryee's ample skirts on a comfortable low stool beside the cheerful fire that blazed in the Franklin stove in his parlor. I was the earliest of his guests, but soon one and another of the female teachers dropped in and became engaged in an animated conversation, to which I was an eager and unobserved listener. By some fatality the talk gradually turned upon witches and their doings, whereat my eyes opened and my interest became intensified. Stories were told of the doings of witches that fairly made my hairs stand on end: of their wonderfully endowed black cats for their familiars; of their riding through the air on broom-sticks for steeds; and lastly, of one of their sisterhood, who had vented her spite upon some one, by turning the feathers in her beds and bolsters into hard bowls, which made them so uncomfortable they could not be slept on. While the last speaker was in the midst of her tale. Col. Duryee re-entered the room so quietly that he was not perceived, and, of course heard the blood-curdling revelation. Instantly his glance wandered from the speaker and fell upon my intent face; and the next moment he exclaimed in his pecularily quiet and gentle way, "Pardon me, ladies! but did you never hear that little pitchers have big ears?" at the same time making a gesture in the direction of the little cushion whereon I sat half-hidden, and with wide open eyes and ears drinking in all that had been said. For an instant there was a silence in the room that could be felt; and then, drawing his chair close up beside me, the Colonel put his

hand on my head and in the most cheerful tones addressed himself to me. "Charlie," he said, "did you ever read the story of Jack and the Bean-stalk?" "O yes," I replied, "lots of times." "Well," he gaily continued, "Do you believe there ever was a bean stalk that grew as fast and as high as Jack's did?" "O! no sir," I answered, laughing, "that's only a story you know." "And," he went on, "have you ever read about flying horses and genii, and enchanters?" "Yes," I responded, "the Arabian Nights is full of them." "And do you believe in such creatures and the wonderful things that are told about them?" "No sir, I guess not," I replied, this time a little contemptuously, "why they are only stories too." "Yes, Charlie," said he, nodding approvingly, "you are right. They are only stories, very pleasant stories too, but we all know that they never happened; and just so all this about witches, is very interesting and very astonishing, but it is only a story, the same as Jack and his Bean-stalk, and the tales in the Arabian Nights." Then, addressing himself to the other guests as well as myself, the Colonel went on: "I have often seen these hard bowls in feather beds, and what do you suppose they were? Why, nothing but badly cured feathers, the quill portions of which had not been baked long enough or carefully enough, to expel the animal fat and moisture from them, and which caused them, when confined in the close bed-tick, to stick together and to get matted into hard bunches that ignorant and foolish people have magnified into witches' bowls." In this practical and sensible way the excellent Colonel quietly censured the indiscreet bablers, and at the same time completely dispelled the glamour which the witch story had cast upon me, and which, but for him, would probably have made me the victim of some distresssing night-fears in my solitary little bed. Adjoining Col. Duryee's house, on the east, was a neat little two-story frame dwelling, occupied by the venerable Mrs. Huyler (a sister-in-law, I believe, of the gallant Capt. Adam Huyler, of Revolutionary memory), and her daughter, Miss Gittie. Miss Gittie was quite a character—a short, plump, stout, but

natty spinster, very particular with the side curls of her fine and luxuriant dark hair, always dressed with great neatness and taste, and having a pair of piercing eyes. She was also a capable and extremely industrious little woman, and when she walked the streets, carried herself with almost military erectness and steadiness of gait, as if she had a sort of proprietorship of the very considerable portion of the side-walk she occupied. She was a little masculine in her ways, and had a peremptory way of talking, but withal she was the possessor of a true womanly heart, overflowing with kindness and good nature, and, indeed, was in all respects as good as gold. Miss Gittie was a mantua maker, and as such was famous for her good taste and honest workmanship; and besides, what would be considered very strange for one of her sex in our day, she was also a tailoress, and as such was held in great esteem among those of our young bucks of that day that she would work for, for the admirable fits of her waistcoats and trousers —coats, she did not make. She had been well-educated, and in her younger days had been quite a society favorite, and had had her little romance. But when she had reached womanhood, her mother's and her own means became reduced; and with characteristic energy and decision, as well as good sense, she set about earning enough by the work of her own hands to give her mother all the comforts, and even the luxuries, of those early days. And in this, I am glad to record, she fully succeeded. Next door below the scene of Miss Gittie's toils and triumphs, was an old and spacious double-house, of frame (still standing, somewhat altered), which was owned by Judge Bray, and occupied in part by his nephew, John Bray Jr., as his family residence; in part on the ground-floor front room, by Robert Miller as a harness-maker's shop; and in part by Littleton Kirkpatrick as a law office. John Bray Jr. was a good, inoffensive man, as poor as his uncle was rich, who eked out a very humble living by the manufacture and sale of "Everton Taffy" of excellent quality, which he was the first to introduce to the lovers of sweet things in our town. Littleton Kirkpatrick

was then a comparatively young man, and I think this was his first law office. His law business, however, was of the smallest proportions. He was indolent, a poor speaker, and was overshadowed by the superior alertness and activity, the more attractive oratorical and forensic graces, and the more extensive legal acquirements of his young contemporaries, principal among whom were George P. Molleson, William Disborough, and Edward Wood. Of Robert Miller, naught can be said that is not to his honor. He was one of the best and most sterling citizens of our town—industriously attentive to his business; filling responsible public stations often and capably, and with spotless integrity, liberal to the poor, kindly and affectionate to all, and setting an example of earnest, but genial and catholic christianity as one of the most influential pillars of the old Liberty street Methodist Church. The brick house next below the one just passed (No. 48,) was built late in his lifetime by Judge Bray, just before his last marriage, which occurred at a somewhat later period than that which we are now specially considering. Here he ended his long life. Prior to its erection, in my early youth, Judge Bray lived in one of the row of three lofty brick houses, also of his erection, (nos. 46, 44, and 42) then familiarly known as "the Bray Buildings." Miss Betsy Johnson and her sister Mrs. Scudder conducted a "Young Ladies' School," very justly celebrated in its day, in one of them, David F. Randolph resided in another, and Judge Bray himself lived in the other. Even at this time, Judge John Bray was advanced in years. He had been thrice married, each time to a lady of culture and refinement. Some years later he married again—an ignorant and uncultivated spinster—who contrived to make his last years much "worse than the first." Judge Bray had been an active and successful merchant for many years, prior to the Revolutionary War, having kept an extensive store for the sale of general merchandise and the purchase of grain, at the Landing, which was disported by the British because of his pronounced patriotism. In later years he retired from business, and became penurious, and while he was

respected for his wealth and influence, he was looked upon with feelings of dislike by the great bulk of our people, and was generally considered a hard man, who would invariably exact his full pound of flesh. He was a man whom a stranger could not meet on the streets without casting a second glance after him. Tall, spare, with harsh and strongly marked features, made more forbidding by a huge black patch of silk which he wore on his face to conceal the ravages of cancer; invariably dressed in a suit of rusty black broadcloth, much stained with snuff, of which he was an inordinate taker; and wearing an air of power and iron will,—he was one of the most important personages in our town, and known to every man, woman, and child in it, but was loved by exceptionally few. And yet, he was a just, if a hard, man. No man ever questioned his strict honesty. He never wronged or cheated those who had dealings with him. He always paid his honest debts. But, at the same time he demanded, and generally succeeded in making good his demand that every debt should be paid him to the last farthing. He gave nothing himself to charity; but his excellent wives (among whom I do not reckon his last wife, who also became widow) were active in every good and benevolent work, and were especially liberal and kindly attentive to the poor and afflicted, undoubtedly with his full privity and consent. I have often thought that he cultivated the reputation of being a hard man, for business purposes, and that in fact he was not as hard and unfeeling as he seemed. It is certain that he could be, and was, very gentle and genial with children, when it pleased him to be so. On more than one occasion, when I have gone to his house to carry him the medicines my grandfather was administering to him, he treated me not only with the utmost kindness and gentleness, but won my heart by the goodies he gave me, and the delightful stories of the Revolutionary War that he told me. Next to the Bray Buildings was a two-story brick house, painted straw color, which was owned and occupied by a substantial merchant of that day, William Schenck, who kept his store in one of the rooms on the ground floor, and resided

with his family in the other portions of the building. Then came the old Dennis mansion, a large and highly respectable looking dwelling, shingled on the sides and front with rounded red cedar shingles, and notwithstanding its age and the neglect it had suffered in its later years, in a state of good preservation. It had been the home of generation after generation of prosperous and influential John Dennises, from a time many years antecedent to the War of the Revolution; but had been deserted within a few years by the last but one of the name, for a new brick mansion that had been erected on the site of one of the old Dennis warehouses, and which we shall soon reach as we stroll farther down the street, riverward. At the time we are considering, this venerable homestead was occupied by John Forman, as a family residence in part, and in part as a toy and confectionery store. Here it was that I bought my first solid india-rubber ball, then a great novelty, and highly prized by us boys for its marvellous bouncing qualities. We have now reached Peace street, crossing which we come to Robert Butler's comfortable Inn, already referred to in our tour through Peace street, and which was kept in the brick building, still standing and but slightly altered, on the S.E. corner of Albany and Peace streets. Adjoining this inn was Ryno's barber-shop. James Ryno ("the Emperor," as he was universally styled in the town) came of a family of barbers who had exercised their vocation in New Brunswick from ante-revolutionary times. He was one of the "originals" of our town, and one of its best known and most marked "characters." His education had been of the slightest and most rudimentary kind; but he had so profited by years of tonsorial intercourse with our most prominent and intelligent citizens as to have acquired a large store of general information, together with the art of conversing in a manner so fluent and correct, and also so polite and entertaining, that his original lack of education and training was not perceptible. He was an active and earnest politician, indeed a thorough partisan, and never put the least restraint upon the

expression of his unadulterated opinions before his patrons, whether they belonged to his own political school or not; but he had the "knack" of announcing his extremest views, so calmly and suavely, in a manner so gentle and-matter-of-course, and apparently so abstract and dispassionate, that they were robbed of all personal offensiveness, and were generally listened to by the customer of opposite views, whom he held by the nose, with entire equanimity. The "Emperor" was invincibly "set in his ways." He dressed with Quaker-like simplicity and sobriety, his clothes were always of the plainest and most inexpensive materials, but invariably scrupulously neat and clean. I do not remember ever to have seen him clad in any other garb than one of sober, dark-grey cassimere or satinet. During the more than threescore years that he plied his vocation in the modest shop before which we are standing, he never changed a custom or a usage, but adhered strictly, throughout, to the old methods and implements with which he had begun his trade. Generation after generation of our townsmen had been shaved or shorn by him in precisely the same way, with the same razors and scissors, sitting in the same hard, high-backed primitive-looking, wooden chairs, placed in the same indentical positions, surrounded by the same unvarying and sparse appointments. No other soap than the famous "English" white windsor was ever converted into lather by him, no other dressing used for the hair than "sweet oil" slightly perfumed with lemon. His shop was as scrupulously clean as was his person, and its floors were always kept neatly sanded with fine white shore sand. He was never in a hurry, was deliberate, without being slow, in all his movements; and was invincibly methodical in everything. He opened and closed his shop at the same undeviating hours; went and came to and from his meals with the regularity of clock-work; treated rich or poor, high or low, precisely alike while they were under his hands; sharpened his razors at one fixed hour; and shaved all his customers with equal dexterity, comfort, celerity, and closeness—dispensing to each, the while, the same liberal instalments of his views and

opinions. In a paper entitled "Sixty Years Ago," written in 1885, I have preserved a characteristic anecdote of this worthy, which I shall not now repeat. But I may indulge in an anecdotical reminiscence of him, that will illustrate the statement I have made as to the long period over which his tonsorial operations extended, and, incidentally, the permanence of some of the families in our locality.

When I was some six or seven years old, I was sent to the "Emperor's" to have my hair cut. After he had seated me in the high-chair reserved for children—which even then had been used for generations of children before my time—he punctuated his combings and clippings, with observations intended for the enlightenment of his other waiting customers, in this wise:— "I am now cutting this child's hair." Clip, clip! comb, comb! "I have cut his mother's hair—Miss Kitty Dunham, that was." Clip, clip! comb, comb! "And I have shaved, and cut the hair of his father, Mr. George W. Deshler." Clip, clip; comb, comb! "I have shaved, and cut the hair of his grandfather, Dr. Jacob Dunham, and done the same for his grand-uncles Major William Dunham and lawyer John Lawson." Clip,clip! comb, comb! "And I have shaved his great-grandfather, old Col. Azariah Dunham." And then, amid other clippings and combings, he interjected personal recollections and anecdotes of the gentlemen he had named. Again and again, has the "Emperor" gone over this formula, as he cut my hair when a child, or shaved me when I had become a man.

When my eldest son was old enough to have his hair cut, I took him to the "Emperor's" to undergo the operation, whereupon the latter recited the old story, enhanced by an additional link. And years afterward, when my son became a father, and his son was old enough for the barber, I requested him to take the lad to the "Emperor's," and to ask him, with my compliments, to cut his hair. The "Emperor" had then become a very old man, was nearly blind, and had given up all the active work of his shop except honing razors—which last, he con-

tinued to do, with unequalled skill, until within a short time before his death.

When my son entered the shop, the old man was intently engaged in sharpening razors, whereupon the following colloquy ensued:

"Mr. Ryno, will you oblige me by cutting this child's hair?"

"O, no! my son, I am too blind for that sort of work. James (his son) will attend to him directly."

"But, Mr. Ryno, my father wished me to ask you, with his compliments, to cut it yourself, and said he knew you would do it."

"And who is your father, young man? ?"

"Why, I thought you knew me, Mr. Ryno. My father is Mr. Charles D. Deshler, and I am his son Edward."

"What! Is this Charley's grandson? To be sure! To be sure! Yes! certainly, I will cut his hair."

And he set about it with pleased alacrity, as much delighted as if he were a child with a new toy, the while punctuating his clipping and combings of my grandson's hair as he had those of mine forty years before.

The only house on Albany street, now remaining unmentioned—the old Dennis store on the upper corner of Little Burnet street, and the old Drake's Hotel on the other corner, having been already referred to—was the then comparatively new brick mansion of John Dennis Jr., next east of the "Emperor's" barber shop, and still standing. This house was built on the site of one of the old Dennis stores; and in 1825 it was resided in by the Dennis family. I do not remember ever to have seen John Dennis Jr., but have a lively recollection of the last Mrs. Dennis, of his daughters, and of his son John, who was a school-mate of mine, and who died young and was the last of his name. Although I was an occasional visitant of their house in company with my school-mate, young John Dennis, my most vivid recollections of the family are associated with Christ Church. The old edifice—before its enlargement—was a reproduction of the old English country-parish-church, on a

reduced scale. On each side of the pulpit, in the north-east and south-east corners, were two enormous square pews, ceiled and canopied, and raised a step or two higher than the other pews —answering to the "Court" or "Squire's" pews in English country-churches. Here in the S.E. corner the whole Dennis family, who were punctual attendants, were gathered every Sunday; and from their conspicuous position, at a short distance from my grandfather's pew, were very often the sharers, with the minister and the service, of my interested attention—especially the young ladies, who were handsome, stately-looking, and elegantly dressed young gentle-women. Their bright eyes and handsome forms, and their stylish coal-skuttle bonnets, leg-of-mutton sleeves, and amplitudinous hoop-skirts, no less than their fair faces and graceful figures still remain indelibly engraven on my memory, although it would be impossible for me to recall a single passage in, or even the text of, any one of excellent Bishop Croes's well-digested sermons.

Church street, being comparatively a modern street, conserves few memories of the very early times. With the exception of the old Appleby homestead, which, as has been already said, stood on the S.W. corner of Church and Peace streets, an old ante-revolutionary school house which formerly occupied the site of the drug store on the S.E. corner of Church and Dennis streets, and Christ Church, I do not think there were any houses on it dated back much prior to the Revolution. Before 1825, the old Appleby house had disappeared, and, as has been said, its site was appropriated by Peter P. Vanderhoef for drying his trunks. The next house—or row of houses—west of the corner, and on the same side of Church street, was occupied by George White, an Irish protestant, the father-in-law of our venerable townsman, Martin A. Howell. In 1825 Mr. White was not engaged in active business, but Mrs. White, who was a daughter of the old post-revolutionary Quaker-druggist, Robert Eastburn, a sister of the late eccentric Thomas Eastburn, and a very capable and tasteful woman, conducted a

large millinery business in one of the wooden row, which was patronized by our best and most stylish people.

Adjoining Mr. White's, on the west, was the neat and modest dwelling and shoe-store of John H. Speer, one of the most estimable of our citizens. He was a leading and exemplary Methodist, of the primitive sort; a man of sound common sense and considerable reading; and a properous tradesman. At that day, shoes were made entirely by hand, and in consequence were well-made and lasting. And it was then the custom of those who were engaged in the shoemaking trade—as, indeed, was the case with those in all other trades—to employ a large number of journeymen and apprentices. The latter were almost invariably bound to service until they were of age, their condition being little better than that of the slaves, and they usually lived in the families of their masters, where their "bed and board" was of the coarsest kind. Mr. Speer had quite a number both of "jours" and "prentices" in his employment, and he was a kind and tolerant master. His workshop, which was a separate building on the rear of his house-lots, was always a scene of great activity and industry. It was a rough and ready, but comfortable and substantial frame structure of two stories; and in it worked the leather "hands" from six o'clock to six o'clock, in the art and mysteries of their trade—some before long tables cutting out "uppers" and "soles"; others, seated on shoe-maker's benches, sewing boots and shoes or hammering sole leather on their lap-stones; and others making shoe-makers wax, and wax-ends, and doing the elementary work generally. It was a hard and rude life, and the hands made up for their long day's work by skylarking vigorously in the evening as late as they might. Of course the apprentices' time for this questionable sort of recreation was restricted, as they were almost invariably required to be at home and in bed by or before ten o'clock. Pretty rough discipline used to be enforced upon refractory, lazy, idle, or incorrigibly bad apprentices in those days—straps and rawhides performing a leading part therein. The workshop, in this as in

other trades, had its traditions and usages. New apprentices were put at the most elementary and servile work. They were the butts, scapegoats, and fags of the "jours" and older apprentices, from whom they not seldom suffered more hardship and brutality in a month than they were subjected to in a year by the severest masters. I have heard many of them say that this part of their life was "a hell upon earth." Turning to a less repulsive feature of their life, I recall one or two of the standard practical jokes which used to be played upon callow apprentices by their elders. One of these was, when their hands became black, chapped, and grimy from the servile and dirty work that was shuffled upon them by the older apprentices, to send them off the the druggist with their small and hard earned savings to buy sixpence or a shilling's worth of pigeon's milk, on the assurance that it would make the hands soft and clean. Another, when they were enamored of some young lass whom they were too bashful to address, was to send them on a like errand to the druggists for two shillings worth of "love powder." As the young gudgeons were directed to apply to one of the druggist's clerks for these potent nostrums, he, being in the secret, generally pocketted the money, and gave them an infinitesimal quantity of some harmless and worthless commodity in return, coupling the receipt of the same with an air of grave and profound mystery. Another standing trick in the workshop was to hand a green apprentice a cent or two and send him to the foreman of some other shoe shop for some "stirrup" or "strap" oil, whereupon the foreman aforesaid would seize an unemployed shoe-maker's strap and belabor the unfortunate greenhorn with it till he was sore and sorry. We may be sure that no prentice was so "green" as to be caught a second time in this way; and further that he would be among the first to pass the trick on to some other greenhorn who was fresher than himself.

This may be said of the workmen in the shoe shops of those days, that whether they were jours or prentices, they became thorough masters of every part and parcel of their art, and

could make a shoe in all its parts—from wax-ends and shoe-strings to the completed pump, slipper, shoe, or boot. It may be added, further, that in those days there were no such niceties as "rights and lefts" in shoes. Each fitted one foot as well as the other; and, consequently, the owner could put them on as deftly and expeditiously in the dark as in the light, as easily when he was drunk or drowsy as when he was sober or wide awake.

Next to Mr. Speer's house and store were the dwelling of Thomas Eastburn, including the millinery shop of Mrs. Eastburn and Mr. Eastburn's old established drug-store. Mrs. Eastburn's millinery was highly esteemed for the quality of its work, which without being ultra-fashionable was never greatly behind the times, and was always in good taste, inclining perhaps to plainness and simplicity rather than to elaborate elegance. The drug-business was a natural inheritance to Mr. Eastburn, his father Robert Eastburn, having prosecuted it from on Burnet street a period anterior to the Revolutionary War. At the time of which I write, Mr. Eastburn's drugstore —like all others contemporaneous with it—was stocked in part with the staple drugs, medicines, herbs, tinctures, pills, liniments, etc., that figured in the *materia medica* of that day. As a druggist, Mr. Eastburn—"Uncle Tomy" as he was popularly and almost universally known—was in no whit ahead of his times, but, on the contrary was far from being quite abreast of them. He was a man of great simplicity of mind and character, of real old-fashioned integrity, of great industry, of old-times manners and habits, and withal was proverbial of his numerous harmless oddities and crotchets.

We have now reached the residence and large shoe store of Henry H. Schenck, the father of our townsman, Abraham V. Schenck. Mr. Schenck was a tall and robust man, amiable, benevolent, and of the strictest integrity. His shoe-store was by far the most extensive of its kind in the city, and the most largely patronized by our townspeople and people from the surrounding country. His stock was almost wholly, and at one

time entirely, supplied from his own workshop, which stood in the rear of his house and store, and in which a large number of apprentices and journeymen were employed. On a larger scale than the workshop of Mr. Speer, just described, yet the description of the one is applicable in its general outlines to the other. Mr. Schenck was one of New Brunswick's best and most trusted citizens. Although imperfectly educated, he had read much and reflected deeply, and was an intelligent and enlightened man. Tolerant of all, and benevolent to all, he was especially kindly to children and young folk, whose whims and caprices as to their pedal equipments he humored with invincible patience and good nature, as the writer gratefully testifies from his own experience.

Adjoining Mr. Schenck's establishment were the residence and millinery store of the Misses Voorhees, two elderly and most estimable maiden ladies, sisters of Mrs. Schenck. Their business was not extensive, nor were their goods ultra-fashionable. But their work was of the neatest and the stuff of which it was made was of the best.

Next above, going westward was the more extensive millinery store of Mrs. William McDonald, occupying nearly all the ground floor of their residence. Mrs. McDonald was an exceedingly enterprising woman, and employed a large force of seamstresses who worked in the store and in a small workroom in the rear. She was always up to date in the fashions of the day, and her millinery store was a leading establishment in its line at the time I write of, and for many years thereafter. Her husband superintended her accounts, and was a quiet, inoffensive, upright, and prudent man, very justly esteemed throughout the town. In later years he became engaged in manufacture of soap and candles.

This brings us to the brick store, on the S.E. corner of Church and Dennis streets. Formerly, as has been said, its site was occupied by an old frame school-house of ante-revolutionary origin. But it was now occupied by the brick buildings as they exist to-day. These were then the scene of an extensive

Drug, Paints, and Oil business, which was conducted by the late Dr. Ephraim Smith and Jonathan C. Ackerman, under the firm name of Smith and Ackerman. A few years later the firm was dissolved—Dr. Smith giving his whole attention to his profession—and it was succeeded by Ackerman and Cornell, the new member of the firm being Isaac R. Cornell, now of New York City. Among the clerks employed here at that early day were the late Randolph Martin, Isaac Manning Nevius, our late fellow townsman of that name, and Thomas Hill, since president of Harvard University. This was a very prosperous establishment, and transacted an extensive business in the town, and with farmers and country storekeepers for many miles around in every direction.

On the opposite (S.W.) corner of Church and Dennis streets was the wholesale grocery store of the brothers James F. and David F. Randolph. Besides prosecuting their grocery business (not very actively), which occupied the entire lower floor of the corner, and a large store-house adjacent on Dennis street the brothers were active whig politicians, and conducted a weekly newspaper, *The Fredonian,* on the second floor, over their store. Their store was universally and familiarly known throughout the County as "The Church Street Dynasty," since it was here that, in conjunction with other active politicians—or wire-pullers as this class of our citizens have since come to be designated—the local politics of the Whig party were hatched and agreed upon. James F. Randolph was a thoughtful and sagacious man, and a clear, succinct, pithy, and capable writer, though neither rapid nor prolific as such. David was a man of less pronounced abilities than his brother, though his peer in suavity and quiet sagacity. Neither had had a classical education, but both were judicious and adroit politicians, and James was a man of large general intelligence. Their store was the head-quarters for our town and country of the party to which they belonged, and of which they were the stanuch advocates; and here it was that the local politics were discussed and the plans for its success determined on. The brothers were

partners in the newspaper as well as in the grocery business. The editor of the latter was James F. David was a practical printer, and a discreet and careful advisor. He had small abilities as a writer, but such as they were he knew how to make the best of them. Their foreman, and the one who really performed all the practical work of the office, was their nephew, the late Melancthon F. Carman, of Metuchen for many years. It was in this printing office that Thomas Hill[35] began his career, as a printer's devil. At a later date, David F. became the postmaster of the city, the office being a space not much larger than a generous sized dry goods box, in the farthest Church street side of the store above described. Both the brothers were proverbial for the courtesy and suavity of their manners, and for a discretion and self-control which never deserted them, and never, even in the most heated political campaigns, suffered them to engage in the violent personal altercations that were so common in those days. Both were physically men of peace and quietness, who strove to accomplish party ends by adroit and politic management, and equally politic appeals through their paper. They might wink at little ebullitions of physical violence or wordy excitements by their political friends, but they themselves were never boisterous, and reserved all their combativeness for their newspaper. I have many pleasant recollections of *The Fredonian* printing office while it was owned by these kindly and affable gentlemen—especially during the period between my 8th and my 13th years. During that time, I was a frequent and licensed visitor there, and was seldom absent from it on the day of the week when the paper was worked-off of the old-fashioned Franklin Printing Press by the strong arms of Melancthon F. Carman. Other visits were made by me to get the New York, Philadelphia, and Washington newspapers for my grandfather, and that I might carry away those of their exchanges which they had consulted and

[35]Born New Brunswick Jan. 7, 1818. Apprenticed to James & David Fitz Randolph 1830 for three years. Graduated from Harvard College 1843; [Became President of Harvard in 1862.]

clipped from, and which they kindly gave me that I might clip from them such stories, anecdotes, poetry, and other miscellany as I craved for my scrap book.

Next to the Brothers Randolph, still going up Church street, on the south side, was the dwelling, store, and workshop of Robert McShane, an intelligent and enterprising Irishman (one of the few of that nationality who were then resident in our town) who was a tin and copper smith, and a dealer in various domestic utensils and stoves—the latter comprising the old-time ten-plate and box stoves, intended, all of them, for the combustion of wood, coal not yet having been generally introduced in our city. Mr. McShane's business was an extensive one and gave employment to quite a large force of jours and prentices. Much of his trade was derived from the distilleries in our town, of which there were four or five in operation, and for which he made and repaired the copper and other stills, retorts, worms, etc. that they used in their business. He was, moreover, the chief recourse of our townspeople for the primitive and not very extensive plumbing that they required, and for the repair of their domestic utensils, of tin, copper, brass, pewter, and iron. His sign, which was one of the most imposing in in the town for size, still remains fresh in my memory. It was a long parallelogram surmounted in the centre by a semicircle. In the centre was the representation in colors of a large still and retort, on the extreme ends were the counterfeit presentments of some familiar domestic vessels and utensils, and on the rest of the parallelogram was painted his name and occupation.

The End

NEW MEMBERS

The Membership Committee announces the following new members since the last issue of the *"Proceedings"*—

Contributing Members:

Mrs. Frank L. Baer, Washington, D.C.
Miss Gertrude Becker, Newark
Mrs. Homer B. Black, West Orange
Martin Mahler, Union

NECROLOGY OF MEMBERS

Dayton Colie, New York architect of South Orange, died August 28, 1950, in the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, hospital, to which he had been taken from his summer home in Kittery Point, Maine. He was 69 years old.

He was born in East Orange, a son of Edward M. and Caroline (Runyon) Colie and had lived all his life in the Oranges. He was graduated from Lawrenceville School, Columbia University, and the Beaux Arts of Paris. He was associated at the time of his death with Reginald Marsh, architect of New York. He was a member of the Architectural League of New York and of Alpha Delta Phi fraternity.

Mr. Colie is survived by his wife, Margaret Siedler Colie, a son, Edward M. Colie, 2nd, of Morris Plains, two daughters, Miss Elizabeth S. Colie, at home, and Mrs. Herman S. Schnepel, Jr., of South Orange, a brother, Frederic R. Colie, of Milburn, a member of the New Jersey Superior Court, and a sister, Mrs. William Faison, of Haverford, Pa. Another brother, Runyon Colie, a Newark lawyer, died three years ago.

Mr. Colie became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society September 10, 1947.

Charles A. George, librarian of the Free Public Library of Elizabeth from its founding in 1909, died at his home in Elizabeth, August 3, 1950, at the age of 82.

He was born in New York City, October 11, 1867, the son of Charles Timmons George and Mary Louisa (Huff) George.

He was graduated from Peddie Institute in 1893, from Princeton University in 1897, and received a master of arts degree from Princeton in 1899. He was assistant librarian and head of the catalogue department at Princeton when appointed to the Elizabeth position. A pioneer in many fields of library service, he saw the Elizabeth library grow from a staff of two workers to six branches, eleven departments, and seventy-five staff workers. He established branch libraries in the schools in 1910, and a visual aid department in 1913, the second in the country.

Mr. George was a past president of the New Jersey Library Association, a member of the American Library Association, the Elizabeth Historic Affairs Committee, and a trustee of the Union County Historical Society. He was a member of Trinity Episcopal Church.

He is survived by his wife, the former Mary Leslie Guion, to whom he was married August 8, 1900, a daughter, Mrs. Edward C. Hewitt, of Elizabeth, a sister, Mrs. John R. Roos, of Arlington, Mass., and two grandchildren.

Mr. George became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, April 1, 1912.

George W. McRae, of East Orange, former general manager and vice president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, died at his summer home in Boothbay Harbor, Maine, July 15, 1950, at the age of 65.

He began his career with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in the engineering department in 1910, after his graduation from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He served as chief engineer of the Illinois Telephone Company and in 1924 came to the New York Telephone Company as chief engineer. He was general manager of the New Jersey properties of the New York Telephone Company in 1927 when the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company was formed, and was made general manager and vice president of the new company, a position he filled until his retirement in 1947.

Active in civic affairs in Newark, Mr. McRae was president of the Welfare Federation of Newark 1935-37, head of the special gifts division of the Newark Community Chest in 1937, and co-chairman of the 1945 campaign of the Newark Red Cross War Fund. He was a director of the Newark College of Engineering, National Newark and Essex Banking Company, Firemen's Insurance Company, the Tuberculosis Preventorium for Children at Farmingdale, and a trustee of St. Barnabas Hospital and of the School for Industrial Education in Newark.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Harriet Bruning McRae, and one son, Colin W. McRae, of Short Hills.

Mr. McRae became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society June 29, 1931.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Moses Bigelow, Newark: *Biographical Cyclopedia of New Jersey,* ed. by Samuel F. Bigelow & George Hagar; *Who's Who in America,* vols. 20, 22, 1938-39, 1942-43; *New Jersey Legislative Manual,* 1939; *Grace Church in Newark,* 1837-1937, by Edward F. Bataille, 1937; *Lafayette in America Day by Day,* by J. Bennett Nolan, 1934; Photostats of wills of Ralph Hunt, 1732, Daniel Lanning, 1771, Mary Snowden, 1852, Frances Snowden, 1870, Inventory of estate of Elias Scudder; Manuscript copies of Mulfreds of Elizabethtown and township of Union; History of Trinity Church and some account of the Parsonage Houses, and brief genealogies of early members; Collection of pamphlets.

Mrs. F. Leeds Block, Caldwell: Wedding certificates of Amos Lock and Annar Thompson, Hannah Elizabeth Lock and William Brewer, Charles H. Leeds and Anna R. Brewer; Exhorter's license of C. H. Leeds.

Joseph G. Bradley, Boston, Diaries of Joseph P. Bradley, 1841-1891.

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.: Collections of the Society, vol. XXVI, *John Cotton Smith Papers,* vol. 11, July 1813-Apr. 1814.

Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa.: Broadside. Stereopticon Exhibition! Methodist Meeting House, Woodbury, N. J. 1867.

Mrs. Oscar H. Cushwa, Caldwell: Child's book: *Wonder-eyes and Whatfor,* by Eleanor W. Talbot, 1880.

Sidney K. Eastwood, Pittsburgh, Pa.: *The Eastwood family.* An account of some of the Descendants of Abel Eastwood who settled in Washington County, New York around 1780. priv. print. 1950.

Evinrude Motors, Milwaukee, Wis.: *Ole Evinrude and the Old Fellows,* by Gorden MacQuarrie.

Charles F. Heartman, New Braunfeld, Texas: *The Beginnings of Printing in Florida,* by Douglas S. McMurtrie; *Confederate Broadside Verse,* a Bibliography and Finding List of Confederate Broadsides, Ballads and Songs, by E. L. Rudolph, 1950.

Mrs. Stephen J. Lindsley, Bloomfield: Indentures, Cornelius W. Westervelt and wife, Mary, to Henry Mead for land in Saddle River Township, April 18, 1801; Jacob K. Mead and wife, Martha, to Isaac H. Mead for land in Saddle River, Jan. 1, 1818; Manuscript copy of an Act of the Legislature of New Jersey for enclosing woodland in Saddle River Township Mar. 5, 1834; Time table of Manhattan Beach Rail Road, June 17, 1878.

C. A. Newton, Naperville, Ill.: *Ralph Hemmenway, Roxbury, Mass.* and Descendants 1634-1932. *Newton Families* of Colonial Connecticut, *Colonial Newtons,* Captain John Whipple & Ralph Hemmenway Records, compilations of Clair A. Newton.

Clarence S. Peterson, Baltimore, Md.: *Swift County's First Pioneers.* Minnesota Territorial Centennial 1848-1949, by C. S. Peterson.

Arthur deBerdt Robins, Newark: *Concerning Genealogies,* by Frank Allaben; *Thomas Spry, Lawyer and Physician,* by

John Frederick Lewis; *The Naval Compaigns of Count De Grosse during the American Revolution,* 1781-1783 by Karl G. Tornquist . . . containing a list of Swedish officers who took part in the struggle; *The Manual of Heraldry,* ed. by Francis J. Grant. Edinburgh, 1924; *The Forgotten General,* by Albert H. Heusser; In Memory of Frankland Briggs, a collection of articles by and concerning the late Frankland Briggs.

Miss Antoinette Quimby Scudder, Milburn: *History of Mexico and the Mexican War,* by John Frost, 1850; *The History of Our Navy,* 1775-1898, by John R. Spears, 1850, 5 vols.; *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* by Benson J. Lossing, 2 vols. *The Compact with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth,* 1836.

Robert A. Tompkins, Washington, D.C.: *The Tomkins-Tompkins Genealogy,* compiled by Robert A. Tompkins, 1942.

Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.: *The Vestry Book of the Upper Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia* 1743-1793; *Journal of the Senate of Virginia,* October Session, 1792.

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM

Mrs. F. Leeds Block, Verona: Photographs of Gov. Joel Parker and some collateral descendants in the Parker family, Annar Brewer Leeds, Annie H. Sharp Slocum, Lillie Sharp Wilkins, Laura Francis, Hannah E. Lock Brewer, William Thomas Brewer; two small paintings by Miss Helen Parker, sister of Gov. Parker.

Mrs. Oscar H. Cushwa, Caldwell: Handleless cup with saucer.

Mrs. Augustus DePeyster Harlow, So. Orange: Two dresses, one a wedding dress of 1902.

Mrs. John Sloan and Hon. Charles Edison, West Orange: Dress worn by their mother, Mrs. Thomas A. Edison, during a visit to the Paris Exposition in 1889, on the occasion of a reception given in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Edison by Whitelaw Reid, U. S. Ambassador to France.

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